

# MACLEAN'S

**BAGHDAD DIARY**

Eric Hoskins and Samantha Nutt on life in the eye of the storm

**MISSIONARY POSITION**

The NDP leadership convention as seen by Rick Salutin

**Q&A: DAVID DODGE**

Our central banker opens up about interest-rate hikes



## AMERICA ON THE VERGE

At the edge of war, the United States faced sudden tragedy.  
**JONATHON GATEHOUSE** on the mood of the world's superpower.

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An underwater photograph showing a dense kelp forest with numerous fish swimming through the water. The scene is dimly lit, with light filtering through the water, creating a blue-green hue. The kelp stalks are visible in the foreground and background, and many fish of various sizes are scattered throughout the water column.

TO SAVE SPECIES, YOU HAVE TO SAVE FORESTS. EVEN THE ONES UNDERWATER.

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Gwaii Haanas. These are the mystical waters of Haida Gwaii/Queen Charlotte Islands, home to giant kelp forests—ecosystems more diverse than rainforests. More than 100,000 creatures can be found in just one square metre of kelp forest. Rich in nutrients, Gwaii Haanas provides crucial feeding grounds for humpback whales, orcas, dolphins and sea lions. For eight years, World Wildlife Fund and the Haida Nation have been working to get Canada to zone these waters

as a Marine Protected Area. WWF has funded research. WWF has created a conservation plan. WWF has convinced the oil & gas industry to give up its drilling rights. Yet still, nothing has been done. When will Canada protect Gwaii Haanas? When will Canada start protecting other crucial areas on our coasts? With your help, we'll get the government to act now. Join our team. Call WWF at 1-800-66-PANDA or visit [wwf.ca/marine](http://wwf.ca/marine). Let's leave our children a living planet.







## POWER AND TRAGEDY

Amid the grief over Columbia, the U.S. confronts the burdens of leadership

AT HOME, the prospect of new acts of terrorism has become part of the equation of daily life for millions of Americans. Overseas, tens of thousands of their troops sit poised for a war that with each day seems more likely. Now, as if those preoccupations weren't enough, the U.S., the world's most powerful nation, mourns the loss of an astronaut—its American and one Israeli—sent from the skies above Texas in an explosion last weekend minutes before their Columbia space shuttle was due to land. Most of the time, it's easy to either envy or resent the United States of America, and the seemingly casual acceptance by Americans of their enormous power. But along with its advantages, leadership always carries a heavy price—both on a national and personal level—and surely, these days, Americans are entitled to reflect periodically on the unique burdens that accompany the perquisites of power.

Until the loss of the Columbia last Sunday morning, America seemed, to a remarkable degree, more isolated than the rest of the world than at any time in recent history—even as its influence on other nations has never been more profound. In a meeting I had with the great British historian Sir Martin Gilbert last week, he observed, matter-of-factly, that America has been the world's most powerful nation for close to a century now—but it took its role in the world war for everyone to realize that. For a long time, the United States was slow to exercise its power, witness its late entrance into both wars. Now, Americans are very aware of their stature—in the degree that they often, at least to outsiders, seem baffled or unimpressed as to the opinions of others toward their power and influence.

As National Affairs Correspondent Jonathan Chait discovered during a week-long tour through the American heartland last week, "the most remarkable thing about how often signs there are of the coming con- flict and the technological debate" over Iraq. Preparations for war have become a fact of everyday life—and are likely to remain so,

even as Americans and others mourn the loss of seven people who were, by any measure, role models for people everywhere.

Tragedy comes in different forms, and its aftermath can have vastly different outcomes. Wars, one form of tragedy, are the ultimate expression of divisiveness, and the debate over whether America should lend a war on Iraq is what results in such profound resentment toward the U.S. among some Canadians and many people else where. The Columbia tragedy, on the other hand, is an event that should demand American and other around the world of the values we share and strive to achieve together—the pursuit of excellence, of worlds beyond ours, of the kind of rewards that never come without considerable risk. Astronauts from other countries, including Canada, have participated in American-led space missions for years now, just as the Israeli astronaut, Ilan Ramon, did on this.

The increasing over the last seven astronauts wasn't atop at America's borders. The rest of the world should share the sense of loss in the same way that it did in the aftermath of the last American newspaper tragedy—the loss of the Challenger space shuttle 17 years and four days earlier. It's more than four decades since people first ventured into space, but each new time offers a fresh reminder that the world we share is ultimately a small place—and our most public ambitions transcend the borders that divide us. The pursuit of great dreams brings us together—even when, as now, those efforts end in grief—and the seven astronauts who rose to that challenge leave that realization, among other things, in their legacy.

*Anthony Wilson-Smith*

respond@maclean.ca to comment on The Editor's Letter

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## MACLEAN'S BEHIND THE SCENES



PHOTO BY GUY LAWRENCE

### RESPECTABILITY AT LAST

Terry Mosher has never courted respectability. Now, it seems, he's had it thrust upon him.

Mosher, better known as Aislin, the Cartoon Editor of Maclean's and editorial page cartoonist for The Gazette in Montreal, was recently appointed to the Order of Canada. The announcement came as a surprise to the 66-year-old Mosher, who still thinks of himself as "a rascal at the back of the classroom throwing occasional spitballs at the teacher."

"I never expected it," he admits. "The high point of my career was becoming the only political cartoonist ever denounced in the House of Commons (during Brian Mulroney's final weeks in office). But this is great, too."

Mosher, whose work is syndicated worldwide, brings to Maclean's a "very acerbic, sophisticated wit that reflects a first-hand awareness of the major players on the national scene," says Editor Anthony Wilson-Smith. "We're tremendously proud to be associated with him, both for his professional achievements and his quality of character."

In addition to creating his own cartoons, part of Mosher's role at Maclean's is to introduce readers to a new generation of Canadian cartoonists. Adds Wilson-Smith: "He's helping to develop and expose rising talent to a pan-Canadian audience."

Mosher says he wants to help re-establish political cartooning in Canada as a respected form of journalism. "Maclean's is a good vehicle for that because of its rich history of cartooning and illustrations. The good news is that we still have great cartoonists working in every part of the country. I want to increase their exposure and up the ante."

Watch for cartoons by Aislin in future issues of Maclean's.

For further information contact [behindthescenes@maclean.ca](mailto:behindthescenes@maclean.ca)

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As a law enforcement officer, I have grave concerns about how this gun control is pitting otherwise honest folks against the justice system. —JOHN CRITCH, St. Catharines, Ont.

#### Choosing sides

While America has made a lot of mistakes, it has also done a lot of good ("The New New World Order," Cover, and "Consequences of War," Editor's Note, Jan. 27). Nobody but America destroys an enemy and then goes in and builds it up again. No country comes close to ascending onto the billions of dollars of aid that we do. We are in every disaster in the world. Maybe our biggest fault is that we have been too generous. It seems that the more we give, the more we are loved. Maybe it is time to pull back and let each nation handle its own problems. And yet how do you ignore the suffering of the innocent? I don't want this war, but sometimes doing the right thing is frightening. Hopefully if we do go to war, the outcome will benefit the innocent victims. And, hopefully, Canada will stand alongside us. *Perkin Sandrengren, Peabody, Maine*

How many times has everyone heard "It's all about oil." While oil is nowhere near a decent argument for or against going to war, it's a smart point. The oil in it, it is, it rules the situation, so we have to deal with it. When I am really wishing to see a war, the end-war activists will do after the inevitable war? Will they then begin to work for human rights in Iraq? I don't see it. *Julian A. Beldinger, Winston-Gore*

As a Canadian working in the U.S., I am continually amazed at the attitude of many educated and intelligent Americans. They seem shocked that the world could possibly think the Iraq war would be primarily about oil. They seem only able to see the gospel according to [Treasury Secretary Donald] Rumsfeld. This ego trip appears to be changing, however slowly. But will enough Americans come to their senses in time? And if they do, will it make a difference with Bush and Rumsfeld? I fear a war's *Wesley Seeger, Clayton, Calif.*

It is beyond me to understand the audacity of a country that has never had to endure invasions and years of bombings being



dropped on its homes, businesses, churches and institutions, to make a decision on avoiding and destroying any nation. I've looked at the Europeans and their reluctance to join this madness, one must realize that their attitude toward this situation has been shaped by centuries of warfare, bloodshed, tears and fears for their livelihoods. They have come to realize that there must be another way, a better way. *Jeffrey Pilling, Burlington, Ont.*

We have much reason to thank Mr. Bush. He has, more than any other president, welcomed us to what his country is prepared to do to preserve its "way of life." Never have we been given such clear positions to debate. Besides offering reassurance to the theatre of engines, but now the overseas citizen cannot ignore this watershed. Mr. Bush has provided us a cold pit of reality, which is hard to do in our warm world of verbal violence, sleazy advertising, superheroes and the good life. *Dr. David Swann, Calgary*

The way George W. Bush presents his anti-Iraq "evidence" is reminiscent of newsreels from 1930s Germany. There is the same type of nationalistic bluster about the well-being of the homeland and the same un-

resting barrage of propaganda. It is amazing how the Bush crew has managed so quickly to divert America's anger from Osama bin Laden to Saddam Hussein. I am sure the American people do not need to be told to see thousands more Iraqi civilians killed, starved or wounded. I pray they will prevail against their leadership in time. As for Canada, if we participate in this war, I will be truly ashamed of my country. *Jan Coltrane, Associate, B.C.*

Something has to be done to depose the despots. The civilized world must protect itself from the desperado who seeks to destroy it. So, President Bush, your heart is pointed in the right direction. Something has to be done sooner than later. But if there is any way to depose the despots without harming the innocent, you owe it to the American people and the rest of the world to explore those possibilities. May God grant you the wisdom to find the way. *Michael A. Davenport, Toronto*

#### The trouble with being rural

I was in the retail firearms business for 29 years and have never dealt with a misbehaving group of people during customers, either before or since ("Gun this option down," Columns, Jan. 27). Yes, some of them chewed tobacco, wore suspenders and went hunting. But they were safe of the earth, and definitely not criminal. *Robert Allen, Devon Arts*

Yes, the process of negotiation was dead. Ed. Planned ignorance of the real world, it is described to the general and severe bureaucracy backdrop a minute. Foreign negotiation was neither intended nor expected to have any immediate impact on the criminal use of imported guns. This will take a generation of the very least and negotiation of private firearms is a sensible beginning for controlling needless deaths by gunshot. It will take years, but it must be completed. *Dr. John A. Bile, Fort George, Ont.*

#### It's in the left, silly

In describing Montreal, Will Ferguson ("City of Vigettes," Jan. 27) makes his simplistic background background loud and clear. Any travel writer worth his salt knows that the best way to visit a place is to walk through it, and talk to its people. A city, any city, is

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**ANCIENT WOUNDS** A quake from a TV set in Thailand—the latest making it—set off a night of riots in neighbouring Cambodia. Riots attacked this textile business, including a factory in Phnom Penh (above). The anger arose from the suggestion that Cambodia had somehow stolen the revered temple of Angkor Wat, site of a contested capital centuries ago.

## WORLD

**PROMISES** Taking aim at a different foe, President George W. Bush pledged US\$2.5 billion over the next five years to fight the AIDS epidemic in Africa and the Caribbean, a stringing of current U.S. efforts. Canadian diplomat Stephen Lewis, a UN envoy on AIDS, said the American initiative “opens the possibilities of hope.”

In his State of the Union address, Bush also earmarked US\$1.2 billion over 10 years to develop an environmentally sound, hydrogen-fueled car. Coupled with grants as of accelerated tax cuts and the anti-spent costs of war with Iraq, economists are predicting the U.S. deficit could soar to US\$300 billion in 2010, its highest since George Bush senior was president in 1991.

**TERROR** American and Afghan troops conducted a two-day search for remnants of Taliban fighters following the biggest battle in nearly a year. At least 18 of nearly 90 rebel fighters were killed at a huge cave complex near Afghanistan's southeastern border with Pakistan. U.S. officials said Taliban supporters were also blamed for a bus bomb that killed 15 Afghans near Kandahar later in the week.

Shoe-bomb terrorist Richard Reid, an 28-year-old British citizen who

tried to blow up an international jetliner with explosives hidden in his shoes, was sentenced to life in prison by a U.S. judge.

**POETRY** Laura Bush, the president's wife, strongly criticized a planned poetry symposium at the White House for first week after learning that some of the poets as invited to celebrate anti-war verse.

**NOVY COAST** French citizens fled their former colony by the hundreds as a Paris-brokered peace treaty seemed to end the four-month-old civil war that split the French territory and businesses in the relatively prosperous West African nation were the target of five days of snare anger after the military government complained the peace deal gave too much power to rebels.

**VENEZUELA** Banks, supermarkets and schools took steps to secure against working hours, the international bank two-month-old general strike to force the ouster of President Hugo Chavez winding down. Workers in the oil and army, the backbone of the Venezuelan economy, are still off the job and lawmakers are predicting the economy will shrink 25 per cent this year.

**BOX BRAWL** Argentina's government has reinvented torturers as sex laws to assist press pro-

secutors, protect against child abuse and subject couples who have sex in a public place to up to six months in jail. Officials said gay sex in a public toilet might not be prosecuted if participants kept the outside door shut.

## CANADA

**MIRACLE** Aid workers rescued her 11-month-old for a miracle—because the thing is life by name. Born a month prematurely, the nearly naked child with umbilical cord still intact was found by a passerby on a concrete step at Toronto City Hall in 14° C weather. After hours of medical aid at a local hospital, she is now expected to make a complete recovery and over 100 families have lined up to adopt her. Police have charged a 41-year-old female sex worker who has lived in shelters for nearly seven years with abandonment.

**HOUSE KILLERS** Police in northern Alberta are looking for a small number of men who shot 10 horses, killing six of them, along a 240-km stretch of highway between Edmonton and Beattyville.

**PRINCEY** Federal privacy commissioner George Radwin said Ottawa is abusing the power of terrorism to collect too much “big brother” data, including air travel information that could be used to identify ethnicity or other criminal status in a host of unrelated ways.

A Regi-based data management firm is warning hundreds of thousands of Canadians about identity theft after a computer hard drive containing personal information was lost or stolen from its premises. Affected clients of IBM Canada, a subsidiary of IBM Canada, include Co-operative Life Insurance Co. and Saskatchewan government agencies.

**ANXIETY** A Richmond, B.C., doctor has been ordered to pay \$335,000 to the parents of a child with Down's syndrome for failing to order a prenatal test for genetic defects on a pregnant woman over 35. It's the second, high-profile “wrongful birth” case in Canada involving a Down's baby.

Ottawa's Court of Appeal said police need specific search warrants to fly over neighbourhoods looking indoor marijuana-growing operations with an infrared device that measures exceptional energy loss.

Otherwise, the court said, it is an invasion of privacy.

A judge in B.C. has thrown out that portion of the *Blanes Act* that prohibits publishing how Atlantic Canada voted before western polls close. Election Canada is appealing the free speech victory of Web site operator Paul Bryan, charged with “guerrilla transmission” of the November 2000 election.

**BUSINESS** In a surprise buying of the bonds, Air Canada sold 35 per cent of its *Air Max* frequent flyer program to Onex Corp., run by financier Gerry Schwartz, the man who waged a bitter struggle to buy the airline in 1999. The \$245-million sale gives Air Canada needed cash and Onex a foothold in the growing business of loyalty points.

Bankrupt telecommunications conglomerate WorldCom Inc. is selling 120 year-old Douglas Lake Ranch in the B.C. interior, the largest privately owned property in Canada. The 300,000-ha ranch, which boasts 22,000 acres and 15 full-time cowboys, belonged to former CEO Bernard Ebbers and is expected to fetch at least \$90 million.

After a century's history and the promise it is at least open to the idea of using small-scale nuclear reactors, instead of running gas to supply the energy-needy process of extracting oil from northern tar sands, CANDU seller Atomic Energy of Canada Ltd. approached the province with the idea.

BY GREGG OLSON



**TRIAL** The Bay of Plenty can no longer claim endow rights to the world's high oil sales. Federal scientists have ruled that the wells are of equal magnitude around the tiny trust community of Little Bay at the western center of Ungava Bay.

**POLITICS** Angry over provincial budget cuts to a local hospital, Delta South voters delivered a 11,000-vote penalty to Elections B.C. to recall Liberal MLA Valerie Ross. If the numbers are verified, she could be the first politician forced to resign and seek re-election under the controversial act.

The Chrétien government's campaign finance bill will cost taxpayers \$40 million over election year and \$23 million between elections, officials say. The proposed law is intended to change the notion that money buys influence, by capping union and corporate donations at \$5,000, placing a \$10,000 ceiling on individual contributions, and paying parties \$1.50 a year for each vote they received in the previous election.

**FOOD** Swedish scientists said in new UK to eat bread and food products that contain the by-product acrylamide. A previous study in April revealed a spate of tougher baked goods regulations in the U.S. and Europe that the scientists who started the scare now say there is not enough of the cancer-causing ingredient in those foods to affect more than a minute.

The Canadian Food Inspection Agency is proposing broad new regulations to enforce



**UNDANTED** Former B.C. premier Mike Howard made his first public appearance, at an environmental summit ceremony, after the devastating fall at his cottage on Nov. 30.

nutrition labelling. Packaging that promises raspberry flavoured, for example, will have to spell out the amount of actual raspberries in the product.

**SURVEY** StatCan is asking Canadians what their social preferences are, in order, it says, to build a database for human rights cases. The questions included in a health survey of 130,000 Canadians that began last month.

## Noted | Dollars and votes

More than most parties, NDPers broke the notion that money determines political outcomes, observes political commentator Graham Murray in his newsletter *Inside Queen's Park*. Still, says Murray (once an NDP associate), he himself, like hard to ignore the math in election filings in November, for example, as councillor Jack Layton reported a \$446,472 war chest, representing 53.8 per cent of the total raised by the so-called candidates. He won with 53.5 per cent of the coalition vote.

Billionaire Bill Bennett's lefty accounted for 23.4 per cent. He drew 24.7 per cent of the vote. Saskatchewan's Larry Howard recorded a 10.8 per cent share of donations, and 1.3 per cent of the ballots, while Alberta's Joe Compton had 8.3 per cent of the dollars versus 7.7 per cent of the votes. Coincidence?



## Mansbridge on the Record



## A VISIT WITH TARIQ AZIZ

The perks for Iraq's deputy PM include a "small" palace—and access to CNN

**DICTATORS LIKE** monuments, all kinds of them. Sometimes they can be seen towering over the people, and impressive buildings so they can leave an architectural legacy.

In Iraq, the dictator must love monuments because they're everywhere. Statues by the dozens and scores of special buildings that all seem to carry a honor: the tallest, the largest, the best. There's a new mosque said to be the tallest in the world, there are presidential palaces that are huge—one outside Buckingham Palace looks like a dollhouse.

(Don't worry, Tarzoon, there are no plans for a tallest free-standing structure... yet.)

One of the smaller palaces is home time for Tariq Aziz, for 40 years one of Saddam's closest advisors, now the deputy prime minister. I had a rare visit the other day to interview the man known as the "friendly" face of Iraq, though "friendly" he did not sound—his words were full of defiance, threats and contempt. But it was the atmosphere around the visit TV-censorship man, not the words.

Baghdad can be as dark as night—there's a greyness to it during the day, and at night the poorly lit streets give it a sinister, brooding feel. After passing through a security check we drove up a tree-lined private roadway to the palace entrance. It's what they call a "government" palace, about five stories high, sculpted in large, round, domed with marble, Persian-inspired fountains, and giant crystal chandeliers. Impressive, yes, but also dusty and, for the most part, empty.

No one met us at the huge front door where the Iraqis angle cars on the driveway, but we had a vague idea of where to go and went searching for the elevator. Still no one. When we stepped off at the Aziz floor, a few bodyguards appeared. One asked, "Do you have a gun?" When he was convinced we didn't, we were ushered into waiting rooms beside the deputy PM's office.

Aziz was inside, apparently alone, with the door closed. It was the day after his visit

reporting to the United Nations about his weapons inspection, and it soon became clear that the only way Aziz could find out what was in the report was to watch it on CNN. Fortunately, he had the volume up high, so I could hear it coming through the walls. After getting a quick sense of the arid bubble that follows such events, Aziz opened the door and walked in, ready to talk. Somehow I'd thought the world's leaders—the people who may soon put young men and women into conflict—would want to analyze things with advisors, not to mention their superior, before wading into the war of words.

The irony is that Tariq Aziz relies on CNN to provide him with information that he won't share with his own people. No CNN for them, only Iraqi TV, whose prime-time viewing consists of snatches of Saddam Hussein being adored—in almost 24/7 sight here. The eerily controlled Iraqi media papers don't tell you about what the inspectors are saying either—writing instead about the "evil" United States and how any invasion would be turned back at the city gates.

For a country in the crosshairs, the people seem surprisingly calm—trying to gauge their real mood is a constant obsession for journalists. Is there silent misery waiting for freedom and the modern world, or will they as Iraqis continue, welcome an American-led invading force with "billion-dollar flowers"?

Saddam Hussein and his monuments. Passing by one of his statues these days, you can't help but imagine ropes strung around its neck, and a cheering crowd intent on pulling hard, until the whole thing comes crashing down. Will that be the end of it's story? Or are there other monuments to come in this country, where the people clearly need more than another place for pigeons to perch?

Peter Mansbridge is Chief Correspondent of CBC's *News at Nine* and Anchor of *The National*. To comment, letter to [tm@news.ca](mailto:tm@news.ca).

## Passages

**DEED** Sydney, N.S., native Bill McNell became a radio broadcaster in order to get out of the real mines of Glace Bay. In 1968, he started the popular CBC Radio show *Front Line*, which drew up to a million listeners in Ontario and Quebec on weekend mornings. He also travelled around Canada, interviewing people for the national program *Voices of the Pioneer*. McNell, 78, died of kidney failure.

**COACHES** Montreal Alouettes coach Dan Matthews, 63, was voted CFL coach of the year for an unprecedented fifth time. The



Alouettes' Matthews, who has served as head coach for six CFL seasons and won five Grey Cup titles, has the most wins (202 victories) of any coach in the league's history.

**ACTRESS** Irish actor Peter O'Toole asked the Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences to defer an honorary award he was scheduled to receive at the 75th Academy Awards in March (he'd been nominated for best actor seven times but has never won). The 70-year-old performer has two movies coming out this year and said he still "might win the lovely bigger outright." He would like the Academy to hold off until he's 80.

**LEAVING** As AOL Time Warner reeled from US\$44.9-billion losses in its fourth quarter, company vice chairman Ted Turner announced his stepping down. The Atlanta-based tycoon, who founded CNN in 1980, was stripped of his operating power two years ago as a result of the US\$106-billion merger of the two media giants—and became disillusioned with the direction of the company. Turner, 64, says he'll focus on his philanthropic activities.

**DEED** Hugh Trevor-Roper was a British intelligence officer when he investigated Hitler's death in 1945. In his 1947 best-seller *The Last Days of Hitler*, he helped prove that the dictator had committed suicide. In 1983, the Oxford professor suffered a blow to his reputation when he admitted faked Hitler diaries. Trevor-Roper, 88, died of cancer in Oxford.

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THE WEEK



## History | Two-timing a king

Most people are familiar with the basics of the abdication crisis of 1936 after the British government refused to allow King Edward VIII to wed the already twice-named Wallis Simpson—an American who had—and stay on the throne, he gave it all up for “the woman I love” and lived in exile until his death in 1972. But details released last week by Britain’s public records office add an extra layer of intrigue to the sad tale, with reports of high-society two-timing and desperate political struggles to stay on the throne.

In 1935, Scotland Yard had determined that Simpson, while still married to her hapless second husband, Lord, was not only continuing adultery with Edward but also having another affair with a “very charming advertisement,” her adman Guy Brindley. Scotland Yard even felt she was bringing on to Edward her “financial reasons” while “keeping her secret love in the background.”

(Twice, but this was hardly as damaging as the FBI report released last year that claimed she was also having an affair around then with a high-ranking Nazi, Joachim von Ribbentrop, then German ambassador to Britain, and that he sent Simpson bouquets of carnations, one for each sexual encounter.)

Still, a worried Edward was trying to find a way to keep the crown and Wallis Simpson. Even Canada was dragged into the act as the newly independent “Gentleman” had to approve any abdication. In a letter to British Prime Minister Stanley Baldwin in November 1936, Mackenzie King added his disapproval of a possible marriage. But the Canadian prime minister also voiced that public opinion could turn against the pious claim if abdication was seen as being “inspired” by a then popular king.

On Dec. 3, 1936, the British paper broke their long-standing blockade of the royal romance and that night, Baldwin snuck into Buckingham Palace through the back gate

Edward and Wallis in 1936. Instead, he wanted to keep the crown and his new bride

to meet Edward. The King wanted to replace his own race directly to his subjects. A draft offers a tantalizing glimpse into what might have been: “I am firmly resolved to marry the woman I love, when she is free to marry me,” he wrote, suggesting Simpson would be Edward’s wife, but not queen, and they would leave the country for a time until the fuss subsided. The next day, Baldwin refused Edward’s request. The prime minister warned him not to make a public appeal, mentioning that the last monarch to disregard Parliament was Charles I in 1642, an event that sparked a civil war. Nonetheless, Edward VIII agreed the Instrument of Abdication, made his dramatic speech about being unable to be king “without the help and support of the woman I love,” and rode off into history’s disapproving glare.

BY NINA FREED



Cover

# AMERICA ON THE VERGE

The rhetoric is heated. The troops are on the move. At a time of tragedy, the world's remaining superpower prepares for war, reports JONATHAN GATEHOUSE.

**THE URBAN CAMOUFLAGE** is pretty convincing—baggy pants and scarves, hooded sweatshirts, flat caps to cover close-cropped hair—but there's no mistaking the complexion of the college-aged men and women who are flipping photos of Airborne Ale or Sgt. Michael Reid in this pub in downtown Fayetteville, N.C. They swagger when they cross the room, stand too straight at the bar, and add reinforcements as "six." And even as they listen to the local bands pump out Hardcore riffs and ruffled remnants of Bob Dylan choruses, their minds are fixed on funny

places. "I'm ready. North Korea, Iraq, it doesn't matter. I'll go wherever I'm needed. I love my country," proclaims Jesse Coy, a 21-year-old paratrooper from Montana.

He and his buddy, Stephen Whittle, a 22-year-old Texan, have just returned from a six-month tour of duty in Afghanistan, to their base at Fort Bragg, 10 km northwest of Fayetteville. They're enjoying being back in the land of running water and free-flowing beer, but they're speaking for a "real" fight. "It felt like I was doing something over there but it was almost peacockinging," says

Coy. "I wouldn't mind some action." Whittle waves his cell phone. "The cell could come at any time," he says. "If the President declares war they can send us right back out. People don't want to see any more American lives lost, but it's our job." They laugh guiltily when asked if the ladies in the bar are being treated to the same speech.

Down the highway, past the pawnshops, strip clubs and fried chicken restaurants, the mood at the sprawling military complex is the same—eagerness, anticipation, supreme confidence. In the State of the Union address

last week, George W. Bush set the clock ticking toward a confrontation with Iraq. "America will not accept a serious and growing threat to our country, our friends and our allies," the President warned. "If Saddam Hussein does not fully disarm, we will lead a coalition to disarm him." The loner of the space shuttle Columbia and seven-member crew on standby, though single, is unlikely to significantly alter the timetable for an administration dinner by the memory of the more than 3,000 who died on Sept. 11. U.S. Secretary of State Colin Powell is

scheduled to appear before the Security Council on Feb. 5, to make what is being characterized as a final appeal for the UN's blessing. Hostilities could begin within weeks. At Fort Bragg preparations are well under way—more than 14,000 troops have already been ordered to the Gulf, and officers are getting ready. Dozens of C-130 transporters stand waiting by the airstrip. Even the Coca-Cola truck that makes deliveries to the base has been quarantined in desert isolation.

In a covey of paratroopers, some 80 members of the 82nd Airborne and other

skipping segments are undergoing advanced paratrooper training, learning to find hidden flaws in the complex web of poles, wires and lines stretched to their noses. Many of the soldiers already know they are shipping to the Middle East as soon as the course finishes this week. The others expect their orders at any time. "I'm excited and I'm nervous," says Sgt. Brad Polinsky, a member of the 525th Airborne Infantry Regiment, who is being his first overseas combat mission. The Wisconsin native will leave his wife and five young children behind at

Fair thing: "They're pretty much like any other family. They're not thrilled, but they know it's my job," he says. "Besides, they know I wouldn't be happy if I wasn't going."

**Sailor:** David L. Haywood, a 15-year veteran of the army, has four children. He was sent in 1991, when he fought in the first Gulf War. In his deployed military position, he says he's looking forward to more action—"Ranger that, sir"—but admits that some of the things he experienced in the dozen 12 years ago still linger. "I saw a lot of small-time risks with one—burned corpses, things of that nature. That kind of visual is something that doesn't go away," says Haywood. "The young guys are eager. A lot of times I have to let them know I'm not a piece. This is a real world stuff, it's dangerous. You have to keep it in perspective."

The stress of combat and reworking older deployments has already been felt on the base. Last summer, as the first batch of soldiers came back from Afghanistan, there were five fatal incidents of domestic violence. All debriefed personnel and their families now receive lectures on coping with the pressures of returning home, and the counseling services available to them—although the focus remains more on preparing troops to go to war than come back to peace.

Second World War era barracks serve as the offices for the chaplains of the 1125th German Support Unit—a reserve unit from Georgia that has been called up to help prepare reinforcements of National Guard and paratroopers who are being dispatched overseas. A table is covered with laminated landscape scenes, done in camouflage colors by local church groups. Mike Howard Lucas, a Baptist preacher from Fayetteville, has been back on active duty for the past eight months, talking and praying with outgoing soldiers as they prepare to leave base, and perhaps their mother. Lucas, who ministered to troops in Saudi Arabia during the first Gulf War, admits that some occasionally have concerns about visiting the Gulf's commandment: "I try to let people know that God faith is a tragedy any time a human life is taken, but we live in a evil world," he says. "To stand by and let evil take over a wrong. I don't think it's led to let soldiers know that this fellow was also a husband or a father, but he was also an enemy who was



Peace activist says Americans will probably rally round the flag; Haywood (top) is still set

Peace activists Yarger (left), Smith (top) and Gulf are lobbying against Washington's plans

actively participating. It's slightly to stand in the way of people that are doing evil."

These days, in the aftermath of Sept. 11, Lucas and the other chaplains often send the troops off with a lesson from Psalm 9: "When mine enemies are turned back, they shall fall and perish at thy presence." It reads in part: "Thou hast rebuked the heathen, thou hast destroyed the wicked, thou hast put out their name for ever and ever."

"I call it God's 9/11 plan," says Lucas.

**"I—IRAQ,"** the young man screams from the passenger seat, as the rugged-up Dodge Charger cruises past the demonstrators. Monroe Yarger and her three colleagues, muffled against the beating temperatures and holding homemade placards that say "Don't Kill for Me" and "No Blood for Oil," don't even flinch. The group—sometimes bigger, sometimes smaller—has been gathering in front of the post office on Chapel Hill's main street every Monday night since Sept. 11, 2001, pushing the cause of peace. Most people look in support; but their

causes, they say, The students hurrying toward class at the University of North Carolina choose the street loudly give them a glance as they pass by.

Yarger, a Catholic lay worker from near-by Elk Hope, has just returned from Iraq. She's not buying the argument that Bush and others on his administration are making about waging a "just war" to liberate a populace from a totalitarian regime. " Saddam is a brutal dictator, but the people of Iraq shouldn't be held responsible for his actions—a war will kill tens of thousands of them," says Yarger. "All we've done with 12 years of international sanctions is deprive the people of Iraq of the freedoms they wanted. We've taken away their health care, their education system, drastically lowered their standard of living. I just don't want any government to tell me what the Iraqi people want or not."

The unexpectedly large turnout at the last major public demonstration against a war with Iraq—hundreds of thousands of Americans took to the streets on Jan. 18—has heightened peace activists' and their

prospects of stopping a conflict before it seems seem dire. One opinion poll after Bush's State of the Union address showed support for war rising to 77 per cent. The number of calls to the U.S. to decide to pursue a conflict without the support of the United Nations, but experts of all stripes agree that American voters will follow their historical pattern of rallying around the flag once a military campaign begins. Peter Weaver, a political science professor at Duke University in Durham, N.C., and a former director of defense policy, and former member of the National Security Council, says Bush and his circle of advisors are watching public opinion but aren't basing their decisions on it. "The President knows that if he goes and wins decisively, he'll have the support he needs," says Weaver. "And he knows that if he goes and looses it, it won't matter if people supported him in advance or not."

The White House has already begun the work of building a coalition, and spent much of its week lobbying allies, including Canada, to get on board regardless of the Sec-

retary Council. Weaver says the timing of the decision by France's Jacques Chirac and Germany's Gerhard Schröder to speak out against the war option three weeks ago deeply angered Bush, and the administration is letting it be known that it will stand firm against criticism that it is too flexible to its aggressive effort to disarm Saddam.

The military option enjoys strong support in North Carolina, which is home to five major military installations and tens of thousands of retired servicemen and women. A survey conducted last month found nearly two-thirds of voters support Bush's stance, though the number fell to only 23 per cent among African American residents. Mandy Cramer, a development coordinator for Durham-based advocacy group Southerners in New Ground, says minority communities in the U.S. are not only dealing with the issue of anti-terrorism legislation, but many Arabs and East Asians are being forced to register with the government—has everyone problem of racial profiling. "How can we be going over to protect the

rights of other people if we don't enjoy full rights at home?" she asks. "And who are the troops that are going to be fighting? They're usually young, poor, and African people of color."

Chip Smith, a community activist in Fayetteville, says he believes there is deep racial distrust of Bush's plan, even in such a solidly military town. North Carolina's swelling from America's recent economic downturn, as dozens of factories have shut their doors. "In this area, particularly in rural counties, there have been thousands of people who have lost their jobs in the past couple of years," he says. "There is all kinds of despair. And now we see billions of dollars being poured away every month on a war most people don't support. The thousands of job construction affects more than a handful of people."

Opposition to the war is turning up in more unusual places. Sen. Gulf, a retired 24-year special forces veteran whose son, Jesse, is now serving in the 101st Airborne, attended the recent march in Washington and has been giving frequent lectures about what he sees as the real reasons Bush administration wants a war—oil and control of political and economic hegemony. At his Durham home, Gulf shows visitors photos of the right-wing death squad members he worked with in Guatemala and El Salvador in the 1980s, and wonders where America gets off occupying the moral high ground. "George Bush is every bit as much a cynical real politician as Hitler," he says. "He was every president since World War II," says Gulf, a still-very 51-year-old. The war on terror is a jihad, he says, and American troops now in Afghanistan, and soon Iraq, will find themselves backslid down in a hostile environment just like he experienced in Somalia. "I think we're witnessing the decline of the American empire. It's a very dangerous time."

Eric Gustafson, a 32-year-old Gulf War vet, says his lobbying organization, Veterans for Common Sense, is hearing more and more doubts about Bush's Iraq strategy from the community of 790,000 Americans who served in 1991. "I tell them the Iraq war wasn't a just war. Iraq invaded another country. It failed to withdraw. We had a UN mandate," he says. "At this time, there is a reputation of Iraq sending American

tradition." The idea of a "post-conflict war" is troubling for many veterans, says Gustafson, who worries that the new lower threshold for hostilities could lead America into a perpetual state of conflict.

And while the media seem to be obsessed with opinion polls and the narrow, at times strident—trying to gauge the feelings of the American public—Gustafson says they and the White House may be vastly underestimating the real level of opposition to the war. He points to *noamvow.org*, an Internet-based group that raised enough donations to air an antiwar commercial during the Super Bowl. "For a lot of Americans, going to a big national rally where some of the folks up on stage are Muslims is not unusual," says Gustafson. "Personally, I have protests. But that doesn't mean I'm in favour of our Iraq policy."

**IF AMERICA** is indeed a country on the verge of war, the most remarkable thing is how few obvious signs there are of the rising conflict and the raging internal debate. The flags that decorated every street porch, car antenna, and highway overpass in the weeks and months after Sept. 11 have mostly been picked away. Unlike 1991, there are no yellow ribbons tied around oak trees for the boys and girls already serving overseas. And the message boards of fast-food restaurants promote 99-cent burgers, not support for the troops.

Even Washington, which felt like a city under siege for months after a hijacked plane crashed into the Pentagon, has returned to a semblance of normalcy. The monuments are open to tourists again and construction of the huge new Second World War memorial is well under way on the Mall. More streets are open to drivers, and it's police officers instead of armed soldiers who man the checkpoints outside government buildings. The signs say the White House still trains its limousine on the routes, but have a pillar in which to take refuge from the cold. And in the land of the free, protesters are again allowed to picket on Pennsylvania Avenue, in groups smaller than 25, between the hours of 9 a.m. and 5 p.m., so long as they stay in constant motion along the prime stretch of the sidewalk.

The State of the Union address was broadcast on all of the major networks, but in



Gustafson says the idea of a "post-conflict war" is troubling for many Gulf War veterans.

comparison to last year, fewer Americans seemed to be looking to the President for answers. In bars and restaurants, you were more likely to find a returned college basketball player than the owner on Capitol Hill. And many of those who did watch said they were disappointed. Even though Bush spent more than half of his hour-long speech focusing on the economy and other domestic policy issues, the public seems to doubt that the Republicans have the capacity to concentrate on any issue other than Iraq. In the coming months, Louise Woodroof, a schoolteacher from Virginia, will be the first to start a blog economy seemed like window dressing. "We need some sort of plan to create jobs, and get things moving again," she said. "But it's clear to me that's not the biggest issue for the President. He's going to worry Iraq whether anybody likes it or not."

Ron Stanton, who waits tables and tends bar in a downtown restaurant, also thinks the economy should be the government's number 1 priority. "It's more important for us to be in good shape here than to re-

act against somebody on the other side of the world, but the Republicans don't seem to think this way." She's still waiting to be convinced that war with Iraq is a necessity. "A lot of other people have weapons of mass destruction. So why are we going to war now? Why with them? Nobody is explaining that to me."

Doubts were also being voiced in North Carolina. In the Fayetteville cemetery, where generations of American soldiers have found their final resting place, Maria Solomon and her mother Cde were paying their respects to the departed. Her son is already serving in Afghanistan, and the potential for war with Iraq is weighing heavy on Solomon's mind. "Really, I just pray about it and say to heaven or God's hands," she said, conveying the red, white and blue flags that spruce from so many of the tombstones. "I don't want him to pay the price, but I know that if this is like Vietnam, there will be plenty of that."

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Cover | BY JONATHAN GATEHOUSE, JAMES BEACON AND ROBERT SHEPPARD

# A NATION MOURNS

'Mankind was led beyond our world by the inspiration of discovery. The cause in which they died will continue.'

The President praised the courage of those men and women who assume "great risk in the service of all humanity." The Columbia's crew,

from left to right: Michael Anderson, William McCool, Rick Warren, David Brown, Lorent Clark, Jan Ransoe and Kalpana Chawla.

**FOR LONG MINUTES**, the crowd of family friends, dignitaries and spectators stood at the end of the runway in Cape Canaveral, Fla., waiting and hoping for a familiar white streak in the distant blue sky. By the time the countdown clock reached zero, it was clear the mission would never come. Just days after NASA mourned the anniversary of its two previous fatal accidents, a new catastrophe—and more questions about the future of U.S. space exploration.

The grainy footage from television cam-

eras on the ground told the story. The shuttle Columbia, streaking through the sky at 14 times the speed of sound, 282,000 feet above Texas on its way to the Atlantic coast, suddenly broke apart after re-entering the atmosphere. Some bosons recombined as thousands of grains of burning wreckage fell to earth. The Columbia, the oldest shuttle in NASA's fleet, was returning home from a successful 16-day research mission, carrying a crew of seven—Americans Rick Husband, Michael Anderson, William Mc-

Cool, David Brown, Lorent Clark, Kalpana Chawla, and Jan Ransoe, Israel's first astronaut. It was the craft's 28th trip since its inaugural 1981 mission, and the 113th flight in the shuttle program's 22-year history.

In a televised address from the White House, George W. Bush expressed his regret to the families of the dead and praised the courage of the men and women who assume "great risk in the service of all humanity." But the President vowed that the space program will not be stopped. "The

cause in which they died will continue," he said. "Mankind walked into the darkness beyond our world by the inspiration of discovery and a longing to understand. Our journey into space will go on." Bush offered his grieving nation comfort from the words of the prophet Isaiah: "Lift your eyes and look to the heavens. Who created all these? He who brings out the stars from one by one and calls them each by name. Because of his great power and mighty strength, not one of them is missing." The President said the



seven crew members.

Although the presence of the Israeli astronaut aboard the Columbia had heightened security concerns about the mission, there were no indications that terrorism was a factor in the disaster. Tim Riffe, the U.S. homeland security director, became involved soon after NASA lost contact with the craft, but the extreme height and speed of the shuttle put it well beyond the reach of any surface-based missile.



The Columbia is mated to the MLP at Cape Canaveral Air Force Station. There were no indications that terrorism was a factor in the disaster.

After the Challenger explosion in January 1986, NASA spent 12 months investigating the cause of the disaster and improving shuttle safety. It seems unlikely there will be such a lengthy intermission in flights this time around. There are currently three astronauts—two Americans and a Russian—on the International Space Station. Although they have a Russian-built escape capsule on hand, had enough supplies and food, NASA administrators have already indicated they would prefer to bring them home sooner, aboard another shuttle. Canadian astronaut Steve Smith has been scheduled to join the crew of the space station in April, but it now seems unlikely that his launch will go ahead as planned. Canadian Space Agency officials would only say they are awaiting for NASA to make a full assessment.

It will probably take months to pinpoint the exact cause of the accident. Early in-

dications suggest a failure of the craft's heat shields, allowing an aluminum structure to disintegrate during re-entry. The investigation may focus on an incident during the shuttle's launch on Jan. 16, when a pair of alarming fumes on the external tank came off and appeared to be the left wing. A NASA official had told reporters that engineers considered the damage to the wing to be no cause for concern.

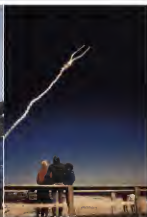
NASA flight engineers say the first sign of trouble came at 8:53 a.m., 23 minutes before Columbia's scheduled landing, as temperature sensors on the left wing suddenly stopped sending data. Over the next seven minutes several other instruments registered rising temperatures and pressure before failing. Rick Husband, the shuttle commander, seemed to be transmitting a warning message when all contact was lost just after 9 a.m. "Today was a very sick scenario,"

that this is a very risky endeavor, pushing back the frontiers of outer space," an emotional Bill Reidy, NASA's associate administrator for space flight, told reporters. "After 113 flights, people had a tendency to look at it as routine. It's not."

The disaster hit home in at least two other countries. Kalpana Chawla, who originated to the U.S. from India in the 1980s and was making her second trip into space, was considered a national hero in her home land. Han Rattner, a scientist in the Israeli air force, was recruited for his exploits in the 1973 Yom Kippur War and his participation in the 1981 bombing raid that destroyed an Iraqi nuclear reactor. His inclusion in the latest shuttle mission was a source of tremendous pride in Israel—the country issued a stamp to honor the occasion, Rattner spoke with Prime Minister Ariel Sharon in mid-flight, and Israeli followed



Kennedy Space Center staff lower the flag after the Columbia is lost (left). The accident evoked the tragedy, 13 years ago, of the Challenger tragedy.



the progress of the mission closely. Richard general Herd Rodgers, commander of the Israeli air force from 1992 to 1996, was a long-time friend of Rattner and had gathered with others to watch the shuttle launch. "From a personal point of view, this is a terrible loss," he said. "All his friends were sitting near the television screen, waiting to hear his first words. It was very tough—we all saw the shuttle disintegrate."

The loss will be tough on the nation as well, predicted Ron Ben-Jonah, a leading bench defense analyst. As the shuttle mission led with the Palestinian uprising, it was one of the country's hopes for a new Gulf War. Rattner's mission "was one of the few bright spots in the national life the last 2½ years," he said. "This just gives you the feeling that no matter what you do, you are deeper in the mud."

At 60 days, the Columbia's mission was the longest in several years, and was specifically

designed to get the most out of the 80 scientific investigations the astronauts onboard were carrying out. Since space exploration began, it has proved both the planetary system and what has also been called the inner universe—the effect of zero-gravity on the human body and the combination of new molecular compounds. Columbia was no exception. Its research projects, all comparatively recent, ranged from studying kidney stones and sleep habits to the more subtle understanding of cell biology and food in the brain.

Two Canadian projects, designed by some of scientists from across the country, were part of the flight. One was basic science researchers were trying to determine how to grow more perfect protein crystals in space, a potential building block in the creation of more powerful cancer drugs. The other was studying osteoporosis and other bone

of bone disease—taking advantage of the peculiar effects of space travel where astronauts tend to lose bone mass.

For many at NASA, the tragic irony of the timing of the disaster will be one of the because pilots to swallow. Astronauts and flight engineers will now have three tragic announcements and 17 days to maintain a one week gap. On Jan. 28, Rick Husband spoke from space, paying tribute to the three astronauts who died in the Apollo 1 launch pad fire on Jan. 27, 1967, and the seven who died aboard the Challenger on Jan. 28, 1986. "They made the ultimate sacrifice, giving their lives and service to their country and for all mankind," said Columbia's commander. "Their dedication and devotion to the exploration of space was an inspiration to each of us."

With Eric Silver in Jerusalem



## 'PANIC' IN BAGHDAD

Iraq's forces appear to be hopelessly unprepared, writes SCOTT TAYLOR

OUTSIDE a three-story house in Baghdad, 30 uniformed soldiers and a handful of senior officers were engaged on a noisy debate. In preparation for war, and possible street fighting in the capital, some Iraqi troops are being moved off their bases and into civilian buildings. The new facilities are often uncomfortable, and this particular argument was over beds—who would get the best one as the soldiers unloaded them from trucks. “I think Iraq is finished,” said Walid Sarhan, a 44-year-old former sergeant major, as he disgustedly watched from a nearby chicken restaurant. “Look what our once-proud army has been reduced to.”

Sarhan was combat against the Iranians in

Baghdad is a city of monuments, to dead soldiers (above)—and to Saddam

the 1980s, then lost a leg in the 1991 Gulf War. His two eldest boys were recently ordered to report for service. With chief UN weapons inspector Hans Blix suggesting Iraq has been uncooperative, and with George W. Bush vowing to remove Saddam: Hazzana by force, Sarhan fears for his sons. “I would be proud to see my sons in uniform,” said the decorated veteran. “But they will be facing the artillery might of the U.S. I have great sorrow in Iraq when they will soon be martyrs.”

Just prior to Bush's State of the Union

address last week, Saddam was seen on national TV, telling his top generals that “each man should not panic.” But panic may best describe the current state of Iraq's leadership.

Seemingly taken aback by Blix's demand for more information and Bush's apparent determination to push ahead with war even without UN approval, the Iraqi leadership had difficulty even organizing a news conference in presenting a cohesive response to Bush's allegation that Iraq still possesses weapons of mass destruction.

In contrast to hurried government officials, many Iraqis seem more concerned. One possible explanation: they are simply beyond despair. “They've had it both externally and physi-

cally,” said Derek Hildray, a former UN humanitarian aid coordinator who was in Iraq to meet with international peace groups. “These people will say, ‘If Allah's will for me is to die, so be it.’ After two decades of conflict they've stopped worrying about a future.”

Saddam has increased food rations and taken steps to ensure that other necessities will be available at least minimally. Hildray, who resigned from the UN in 1998, and that Iraqi citizens have received an additional three months' worth of rationing in anticipation of the war. “If there is only one thing that would force the people of Iraq to rise up and overthrow the government, it would be starvation,” Hildray said.

Saddam has also moved to ensure an adequate water supply. During the Gulf War, water and sewage treatment facilities and pumping stations were destroyed by air strikes. Iraqis were forced to draw water directly from contaminated Tigris River. Thousands, many of them young children, died from dysentery and other water-borne diseases. The Iraqi government has launched an initiative that encourages residents with property around their homes to sink 18-in. wells. Crews have also drilled sections some parking lots on the outskirts of Baghdad. “The water will still need to be boiled before it is potable,” said Hildray, “but it will certainly be more sanitary than river water.”

One of the stated objectives of the U.S. war plan is to obliterate what's left of Iraq's base of power and. Since 1991, when air strikes devastated generating stations, Iraqis have learned to live with blackouts. But most major buildings and larger houses have been equipped with generators. Emergency fuel reservoirs have also been built throughout the central business district in recent weeks to supply generators in the event of war.

Meanwhile, authorities have called up thousands of young conscripts. On the outskirts of Baghdad, the recruits—many still wearing their own clothes—lined up last week to practice basic drills. These crude parade grounds are on sites that were targets of previous air strikes. The rubble of destroyed buildings, and the twisted heaps of metal that were once Iraq's vaunted armored vehicles, are still visible. (An estimated 75 percent of the Iraqis' heavy weapons, including tanks, were destroyed during Operation Desert Storm.)

Many of the draftees are too young and too indoctrinated by years of propaganda to be overly fearful. But for Sabby Haddad, 23, it's a different story. Having delayed his national service until after he completed his English degree at Baghdad University, Haddad is older and educated and will enter the officer corps. He considers himself an academic, not a soldier. “I'm in to report for training next week,” he said. “If war does come, it could be leading troops into battle within a month. I've never fired a weapon before.” Having worked as a researcher, Haddad had no access to the Internet, and has a greater understanding of the truth behind Iraq's proclaimed “victory” in the Gulf War. “I will fight and I will probably die,” he said, “but I would be lying if I said I wasn't afraid.”

In an effort to keep morale high among citizens and appear defiant, the regime stages daily demonstrations. At a recent protest in front of the Qadisiyah embassy, some 350 Palestinian-Iraqis demanded that no Arab land be used to support U.S. attacks against Iraq. “If there is to be a war,” said Fadiel Daud Asadi, the organizer of the protest, “we will fight for Saddam.”

While Asadi was simply echoing the party line, there is some grudging support

even among factions generally believed to be opposed to Saddam's rule. Karim, who drives a taxi in Baghdad, is a 42-year-old Kurd born in the northern Iraqi city of Dohuk. Although his former home is now under the control of Kurdish separatists, Karim and his family chose to move to Baghdad. Asked whether he would fight for the president, Karim smiled, proudly pointed to his Gulf War medal hanging from his rear-view mirror, and said, “It wouldn't be the first time.”

While Karim's war trophies are in keeping with the government's official statement that all Iraqis are prepared to fight for Saddam, there is plenty of evidence to suggest that most Iraqis want to survive—on their own terms. As part of an effort to keep the lid on public dissent, Saddam lifted the curfew law three months ago. At US\$200—nearly two years' annual salary for the average Iraqi—only the rich and upper middle class could previously afford to travel abroad or emigrate.

Now that the end has been reached, hundreds of Iraqi officers are lining up at government visa offices across the capital to apply for exit papers. Outside police stations, those who have obtained permission to exit property post handwritten signs on walls, detailing articles up for sale, including their homes. Abad Mirwan, 42, is an English teacher who hopes to move to Lebanon. “I really fear that I have left matters too late,” he said. “If hostilities begin I will be recalled to the army and unable to leave the country.” (If war does break out, intelligence estimates that at least one million refugees would flee the fighting to neighboring Turkey and Jordan.)

There are displays of defiance intended to keep up morale among the population



For loyal Saddam's followers, there is still no thought of flight. All over Baghdad newswires of the president, covered in tears, insist official optimism. And although it would be a tragedy in the event of war, the Iraqi television building is undergoing a last-of-its-kind expansion. As bricklayers put the finishing touches on a grandiose foyer, civil engineer Anwar Alwan explained that “we don't believe there will be war. Saddam will make a deal with Bush before he will put the Iraqi people through any further suffering.” Sitting at his Baghdad restaurant table, Walid Sarhan could only hope: due, for the sake of his sons, such sentiments are right. □

'LOOK WHAT OUR ONCE-PROUD ARMY HAS BEEN REDUCED TO,' ONE VETERAN SAID

'AFTER TWO DECADES OF CONFLICT THEY'VE STOPPED WORRYING ABOUT A FUTURE'





# CONFRONTATION OF EVILS

Six days at Davos challenge conventional wisdom about Iraq

**NO MATTER WHAT** subject was under discussion at the World Economic Forum in Davos, the Swiss mountain village, where the world's elite gather annually to trade lies and secrets, one topic dominated the concerns of its 2,354 delegates: the impending war in Iraq.

"Why I wouldn't believe anything Saddam said, if it had his tongue removed," one U.S. senator declared, while munching a Swiss almond cookie.

"Hell," added a freshly shaven retired U.S. six-star general, emitting the worst of filthy cynicism. "We got ourselves too much hawk training with microwave warheads that kill the electronics right off. Miss: Hussein's weapons of mass destruction. No lie."

The specter of war was the flashpoint of heated debate everywhere during the six-day meeting, which ended last week and brought together the world's top corporate goliaths, leading nations, royals, and heads of state. (I became so poked out by the third day I was greeting people by saying "And you're the long...")

Most of the Europeans, Arabs and Asians present were accusing the Americans of ignoring common sense by rushing into battle. "When the Yanks take on Saddam, they make up an invention," one Chinese diplomat declared in disgust.

After hours, in the bars and hotel rooms where the international networking club is the essence of Davos goes on, rumors circulated like after dinner drinks. Someone had been told in Washington that the Japanese government had warned all its dependents to flee its embassy in Baghdad, another report claimed that war would coincide with a renewed terrorist show of strength by al-Qaeda.

Ramon Gelfand, who covers the terrorist beat for the Washington Post, told the gathering: "The Bush administration has been so concerned with al-Qaeda acquiring nuclear, chemical or biological weapons that for the last six months it has had 100 key

government staff operating on shifts in bunkers to ensure continuity of government in the event of a mass destruction strike on Washington." Reflecting a similar alarmist mood, Bruce Hoffman, from RAND, a think tank in Washington, said, "Terrorist organizations are like sharks swimming in water. They must always be in motion."

The link between Hussein and al-Qaeda may not be officially established, but in the minds of the multinational head honchos, anything that disturbs the peace hurts their profits. And if they weren't gloomier about war and terror, they shopked the stock market to worry about. "While I remain unconvinced that the equity bubble of the late 1990s has been fully deflated," noted John Post, business affairs editor of the Economist, "the bubble may have moved to global natural assets markets."

One of the benefits of attending an international gathering on this enormous scale is that most of your preconceptions are shock down, first-hand. Along with many North Americans, I believed that Middle Eastern economies are desperately fearful about the economic fallout from an Iraq war. Not exactly, it turns out. One Saudi Arabian minister told me, barely bothering to hide his smug smirk, that any invasion of Iraq would drive oil prices to US\$80 per barrel, and prices who would benefit? Meanwhile, a group in Dubai isn't waiting for the war or its outcome. They have already signed a provisional agreement to operate Baghdad airport in a post-Saddam Iraq.

Most Middle East delegates agreed that

about the only industry hurt by war would be regional tourism.

But it doesn't seem to be necessarily true either. One international hotel chain owner claimed that "the greatest explosion in industry hotel construction in the history of the world" is currently under way in the Middle East. Prince Wald bin Taid, the Amman-based Iraqi Sharaf's Four Seasons temple with a cash injection of \$250 million in 1994, has just ordered another US\$400 million to build new five-star hotels in Lebanon, Egypt and Dubai, including several Four Seasons units. All told, about 100 new luxury hotels are under construction in the region. The Al Qadisi Group, for example, has built the world's first seven-star hotel in Dubai and is building another hotel in the emirate's desert that will include a US\$32-million indoor ski slope.

Those were some of the other highlights from the dooms of session I attended. "We never talk," I was repeatedly asked to North Korea to meet with the president. I asked what an appropriate gift might be, and it was suggested that I bring him a leather coat. When I tried to discover what size he wore, I was told that this was classified information. —Margaret Prince Minister Number Sixtyfour

**Team me up, please now.** "In space, where human exploration will be carried out by individual entrepreneurs, the future could see the creation of trust humans. They will beget homes, partiality chips.—Streamline astronaut royals, Sir Martin Pitt.

**On corruption.** "Instead of bribing officials, Russian companies now have executives appointed as public servants"—Andrei Pionovskiy, director for the Institute of Strategic Studies, Moscow.

**What's that space?** "The Stone Age didn't end because we ran out of stone, and the fossil fuel age will not end because we run out of fossil fuel"—Björn Steen, president, World Business Council for Sustainable Development.



**Hang on, Sloopy.** "People in my region are beginning to lose hope in democracy. I can be brought down, if I do not manage cooperation."—Alejandro Toledo, president of Peru.

**Milking the taxpayers.** "American firms will be currently unlikely to US\$2,240 per cow. That would allow each cow to fly first class around the world, or an economy every three cows could take one ball along for free."—Peter Brabeck-Letmithe, CEO, Nestlé, Switzerland.

**Taking a powder.** According to a member of the presidential delegation from Colombia, the country's businessmen have turned away substantiated to struggle there trash into North America. One captured and/or lost

was capable of carrying 200 tons of cocaine.

The mass ingesting presence at Davos was that of new Brazilian President Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva, the former elementary school dropout and union organizer, who came to Davos like a guest dwarf. His passionate appeal for understanding of the country's fiscal problems moved delegates far more than the cool messages of U.S. Secretary of State Colin Powell and Attorney General John Ashcroft.

Malaysian Prime Minister Mahatir bin Mohamad brought the possibility of an Iraq war into sharper focus. "We have live in fear, every day and night," he told a panel on trust and governance. "Two millions of experience and mountains of knowledge have not

made us much more capable of managing our affairs than Stone-Age people. We are actually in the middle of the Third World War between the Axis of Evil and the United Nations. We are convinced that they are right, and that duty is the fight against evil."

Spending nearly a week at Davos was an enlightening experience. I came away with the conviction that the world is engaged in nothing less than a clash of civilizations. The looming Iraq war is only a symptom of this much more profound confrontation, which will change the way we live. And die. **EH**

MacKenzie Contributing Editor Peter C. Henning attended last week's World Economic Forum in Davos, where he chaired a workshop on government, media and culture.



# THE MISSIONARY POSITION

The NDP possesses the truth, and always has, so why try anything new?

**FRIDAY MORNING:** I arrive at Toronto's National Trade Centre for the NDP leadership convention, a copy of Anthony Giddens' *The Third Way* in hand. Giddens is the bible of modernizing leftists, he's Tony Blair's guru. A recent Toronto Star edition asked, "If the Third Way style of social democracy, best portrayed by British Labour Prime Minister Tony Blair, works in Europe, why not try it here?" OK, why not?

Giddens ushered leftists into "a world where there are no alternatives to capitalism." He had a sunny view of the choicelessness. "Third Way politics should take a positive attitude toward globalization." He had slogans: "No rights without responsibilities." Your Social leader couldn't put it better. He took a deferential tone toward big business, seeking "a synergy between public and private sectors." And nonverbal passion, to prevent conflict with hard-left wingers of the old days.

I should have left my copy home. There's not a Third Way in sight among the candidates, or delegates. Some NDPers gave it a shot once, like ex-Ontario premier Bob Rae, or outgoing leader Alan McDonald, briefly. The reaction is hellfire (it would be an odd moment to glorify globalisation, after Canada's long experience with the thing, free trade, and therapy services like education and health have declined). Or to adopt Giddens' wacky line toward business, after Eaton. What a difference a few years makes. You think like a horse's ass striking thorns out of oak, and there's an answer to why not try it here? Someone did. We call that the Liberal party.

**THIS CONVENTION** is low-key. The candidates all seem to wonder around unaccompanied. As an exception, from former Jack Layton, the Toronto city councillor, has an entourage of close proteés. He struts briefly as if he has somewhere important to go. On the floor, Peggy Mark of the Canadian Auto Workers' union: She says she's back

ing Layton, without great need. "It's gonna vote for somebody," she says. Oh yeah? You could find lots of anarchist kids to dispute that. And upwells Max Silverman, a writer of buttons down his front. He hands a fewish group opposing the brand "occupation." He's in Grade 11. One of the fabled youth the NDP is desperate to recruit, so when Jack is seen as their bridge. Hey, even the Toronto Ladies support him.

**AT HOME** I fly to Montreal to speak to student journalists. Federal Heritage Minister Sheila Copps is leaving as I arrive. Now, that's an entourage. Aides on all sides, so that when someone says her, she can appear totally expressed, until one of them intrudes: "we really mean go, minister"—despite her exhort that we never do anything again except rap on with this personal supporter.

**FRIDAY EVENING:** Back in Toronto, the candidates debate, in front of a giant screen. It's useful, since electoral politics today is mainly about TV impressions. Because it's hard to grasp policy matters in detail, most voters rely on what they hear and see. That's why there you can compare their video images, each in turn.

Layton has been called "media-savvy" often. But what does it mean? I've been surprised at how circumspect he can be. "It's the government of the day who..." He'll say, instead of, "the Liberals." He doesn't say soundbites in full either, the moderator keeps saying, "Yes, sir." Now does he seem to understand the camera, his jaw thrust toward it as if he's overacting, instead of letting it

come and explore him. True media-savvy politicians, starting with Kennedy and Trudeau, hang back and wait, like Groucho behind the net. On the other hand he seems to signal, or indicate, a media sense. Maybe it means showing a fierce desire to make a media impression, which facilitates media fall—hey, he knows how important we are—and translates as "media-savvy."

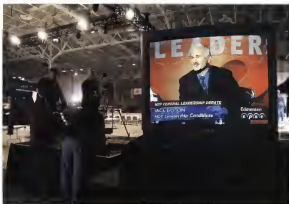
It's like Layton's emphasis on being "new." The NDP, renamed a *Globe and Mail* editorial, "seems incapable of recovering itself for the new century." But how many of us recovered ourselves for the new century? Was that a priority in your life?

Afterward, the Layton camp parties in the shadow of a windmill energy project that Layton never tires of talking, as he walks. Back at the Delta Chelsea, in the hospitality suite of Layton's sole real competition, veteran Manitoba MP Bill Blaikie, they're celebrating Robb Burnsday. Blaikie roasts, with someone familiarly, Burns' Address to a Haggis, in the presence of the steaming arctic.

**SATURDAY MORNING:** The Toronto Star is in kindergarten mode this morning. "NDP job is Layton's to lose," it blares.

The final speech is given at 8:45, the quiet Porcine Nymphet from Saskatchewan drew I didn't make it. Next is Winston MP Joe Comartin. He has concentrated on foreign policy Iraq and the Middle East. It seems a bit odd, yet it fits the post-Sept. 11 era, when the world beyond his intruded on our lives is never before. I see Comartin last night in the hotel lobby (unintended). He said the focus evolved, for him and others, during their cross-country debates. He'd start, they'd chime in and their audience would move.

Bill Blaikie speaks second to last. Big, as in huge, rampled guy. Refuses to share his beard. Gathers more than speaks, but establishes. That's psychological intention in work. Layton's speech goes scant response, though the rappings are good: an edge index, an intro by party (establishment)



cas whether to accommodate him or cancel it. Anderson. It sounds like they went through a real process together.

Not I find it odd how small a part Sept. 11 played in their debates, Comartin says yes, it really arose. Perhaps that's due to what I think of as the NDP's missionary position: they possess the truth, always have and will, so particular events never seem important enough to force a basic rethink. The missionary position isn't hard to learn anything new, or admit you have. Comartin has a coach of it, and New Media, who follows him, has jobs. She's the choice of the socialist cause and says, nevertheless, that the party turn left, then onto to Billy Bragg's version of *The Internationale*. She's followed by young Quebecer Pierre Duceppe, everybody's favourite long candidate, who "we're sure to see more of" at future conventions.

Bill Blaikie speaks second to last. Big, as in huge, rampled guy. Refuses to share his beard. Gathers more than speaks, but establishes. That's psychological intention in work. Layton's speech goes scant response, though the rappings are good: an edge index, an intro by party (establishment)

He's been called "media-savvy" but the new leader doesn't time soundbites well.

factor, which I value a lot. I think it works well in media and works better than the party, outgoing Stock Day or Layton style. Everyone wants to talk to the person at the party who doesn't want to talk to anybody.

You can tell he's been based in by Layton's campaign. They've turned him into the establishment candidate. He tries to escape. "Some will tell you I represent the status quo. Nothing could be further from the truth. I have suffered from and witnessed the status quo." He's clearly frustrated. Jack, the "warrior," is supported by most mainstream media, many groups, the Star, the Ottawa Citizen, the *Globe* wrote that NDPers face a choice "between taking a gamble on a fresh face or staying true to the party establishment." Believe me, left on early went to be on backtracking the establishment. That's psychological intention in work.

Layton's speech goes scant response, though the rappings are good: an edge index, an intro by party (establishment)

sent to Broadway, a radio's song. Aggressive comes in response to Layton indicating up plans, moments, by praising or bashing. There's little substance, but lots of personal examples—I met a former in a wilderness school—that you might call the signalling of substance.

**SATURDAY AFTERNOON:** Voting is underway. They've devised a complex system that combines member and delegate votes, some in advance and some in real time, over the Internet. It's a noble effort at wider democracy. The NDP has been slow on democratic issues, leaving them to the Alliance—but now they've voted in favour of proportional representation, a more radical cause than the Alliance has.

Unfortunately, a broker already in the system. But delays, we're told, will be minimal. Max comes up to compare how mild the resolution on the Middle East. He won't let Ray. The rest isn't radical enough, and Max is radical enough that he's in the NDP. Makes you wonder why they bother fantasizing about attracting radical kids. Makes you wonder about the Third Way.

**Layton seems to react to whoever or whatever issue is nearby, like a compass that's moral, but has no firm setting**

too, and it's not clear that there are as-alarmists to capitalism. What's a thing to tell young people. A century ago, Rosa Luxemburg said the choice was between socialism or barbarism. If many of them see what's around them as barbaric, why deny them even the possibility of the alternative?

Janet Solberg, of the NDP's Lewis dynasty, sympathized for Layton, the outsider, even though she's from the party establishment. She says Jack thinks outside the box. There is no phrase more outside the box than outside the box. The first ballot results are finally in.

In everyone's shade, Layton has a rise party. 51 per cent, and it's over. Just ballot victory nudge. Nobody gets a chance to do all the whittling they were looking forward to. (How long can we get out of here?) The crowd daffily gathers. At the end of the stage a legion of CBC news correspondents wait. Julie Van Dusen, Rick Seremba, Chrissie Leonard, Susan Bonner. Layton gives a gracious speech, welcoming to the crowd. There's female-Chinese paper dragon carrying on stage, worked by two kids.

Afterward, Layton melts into the crowd, a technological sea of boomers, cameras, lights, wires, microphones, Layton's face a bright eye at its centre. All moving back to stand in a line. Layton's face is a bright eye at its centre. All moving back to stand in a line. Layton's face is a bright eye at its centre. All moving back to stand in a line.

That night in his suite, Layton says he had thought of all possible scenarios. It means he has Layton's camp put him in. When I first heard Layton's team talks about how to "position" him, there was a lot of confusion by advisors and staffers disorganized me. I found it shameful to adopt the same commercial, manipulative techniques that people use when they turn to a party like the NDP. But it's also not that positioning is a skill, and Layton's victory was a triumph of it. So good for them and bad on me. But I still don't see anything "new" about it.

During meeting, Jack is asked about his win on CBC Radio after this morning. He says, "Of course, I was surprised," not just "I was surprised." His capability to simply react, as opposed to figuring out how he wants to be seen to react, could be trouble. Men like to know that a someone home, they may not want to know you intimately, but they want to know you're there. Layton rarely allows that. The scene is react to what-



In his frustration, Ignatieff MP Blais was boxed in by Layton's positioning of him

ever or whatever now is nearly like a compass that's moved, but has no real swing. He wants a sense of needing approval—well, OK, don't we all—but it's a question of how desperate and personal it is. That can be exhausting for outsiders, while compelling sympathy for the person. Such acceptance comes in a media age, votes must decide who they're willing to put up with in their home each night for years. They may like and admire you, but still not wish to have your need and insecurity in their face. As for the media, they often seem small the vulnerability.

Layton, in his acceptance speech, he often seems to speak to disprove of Canada, not just NDPers. He says "inventing Iraq" was wrong, period. "Whoops, sounds like the necessary position again. Instead of saying that this war will do more harm than good, he simplifies it all over to wrong because it isn't peace. He uses terms like "warner" or "war." This is all talking to the party. You have your lot of principles and reforms, applicable to all times and problems. Since this is the economy. It's not at all plans could have come from the 1960s or even 1930s, rather than the unique blights of the globalism era.

By noon little is left at the site. But next door, Speedsters, an auto show, is pulling huge crowds. They are the ordinary work-

ing people the NDP often courts, and they pose a problem for the mainstream position. Most of them do not feel specifically oppressed, deprived, angry or sure. They are at best "serious," who have merit citizenship in connection with other Canadians. How does Jack Layton react to this category, sometimes whittled down to "voters"? The trouble with activism like Ben Meek's is that it can hide an unease with what's ordinary among people and the other things that unite them, alongside the angry things that divide them. Layton admits activists, who he says are the leading edge, but there can be an obstacle that makes, and it won't serve well in national politics. National elections make sense only with a certain almost bland idea of common interests that bind us. You have to believe, contra Margaret Thatcher, that there really is such a thing as society.

For the folks at Speedsters, it will be a question of what annoys them with everyone else. Successful NDP leaders in the past have had a sense with these people, combining a cry for justice with a common (literal) cry. The NDP, through its leadership process, have manifested a sort of policy along with implication of globalism and the Third Way—hereby could be undermined by the party's own impulse toward nationalism, both into the reactionary position as well as by the folks of their new, other vulnerable leader.



## MILITARY MYTHS

John McCallum's troops will get more money, but that's only the beginning

TO GET A REALLY good idea of John McCallum's base problem, you'd have to look at the back of my \$10 bill. There is a depiction of a war-torn world—without the traditional stamp of soldiers that usually stand beneath it. To the left, a man of purple ink, is a female soldier, peering through binoculars, wearing the jaunty blue beret of the United Nations peacekeeping force. It is a warful tribute to Canada's role in world peace, and it is an illusion: today there are only 268 Canadian peacekeepers among the nearly 30,000 troops in the service of the United Nations. "Saying we are a peacekeeping nation is a rewriting of our history," says Alan Pellmar, executive director of the Conference of Defence Associations. "And peacekeeping through the 1990s. Look at the Balkans: there has been a lot of fighting—and we have lost more than 30 people there. There is an element of myth to how we see our armed forces."

That myth has dogged Defence Minister McCallum since he was catapulted into his position last May from former fascist portfolio. True, in increasing numbers, Canadians are an able military in late November, 35 per cent of the Liberal pollsters believe that Canada should spend more on defence, the highest percent since the firm started tracking in the late 1980s. But there has never been a landslide on the hard track of war and expensive changes that he asked. When even peacekeeping in the 21st century is a dangerous task requiring combat-ready troops, when armed forces have been steadily edging into closer to operations with the U.S., the military could charitably be called a public military challenge.

McCallum has had a steep learning curve. First, the former bank economist and now an educated himself, talking to defence officials, academics and businessmen with military experience. Then he tackled his colleagues, lobbying the regional caucuses, forging a close bond with Foreign Minister Bill Graham and Finance Minister John Manley. The sheer enormity of this month's

budget—up to \$1 billion will be added to the department's bottom line. At least \$500 million of that will be added for 2005-2006—on top of current spending of \$11.6 billion. That money will simply subsidize the forces. More importantly, the budget will lay out a multi-year plan to recruit, train, equip and fund new equipment. "The budget will say that Canadian troops have to focus their skill set," says an insider. "And, they need quality equipment. We cannot do it over night—but we are going to do it in a phased way with new money and a reallocation of existing money."

The cash will come as a relief to the military, which is struggling with huge maintenance budgets for ageing equipment, short ages of skilled staff and depleted capital budgets that have been raided for daily expenses. Last fall, Pellmar's group gave it limited the needs of the services up to 40 to 50 per cent of the army's weapons and vehicle fleets could be grounded every year "because the purchase of spares has been inconsistent and inadequate", the defence had half in response over the last decade. The group called for an infusion of at least \$1.5 billion. The Senate defence committee says \$4 billion is the bare minimum. "It is probably beyond the ability of the department right now to see more in-published than collapsing over the next few years," warns Douglas Macdonald, chair of Queen's University's defence management studies program. "There's a real challenge here."

But more money is only part of the solution. Canada's military must be restructured to deal with a world of high-tech threats and low-tech terrorism. To his credit, Mc-

Callum has started this process in his quest to find annual savings of \$300 million. Outside experts will examine how to streamline administration and procurement. Almost \$4 billion goes to non-military expenditures such as environmental cleanup. And savings will likely come from the elimination of outdated equipment such as tanks. "The challenge has changed dramatically from the Soviet Union to terrorism," McCallum told Macdonald. "There are enormous challenges facing militaries around the world to adapt to the new security environment and the new technology."

This is a solid start. But the greatest challenge lies ahead: the updating of the 1994 White Paper on defence. Its basic aim will surely remain: homeland, continental and international defence. But Canada needs new master plans for both defence and foreign affairs. The good news is that McCallum and Graham are working together to diminish the traditional rivalry between their ministries. The bad news is that it would be folly to create policy before the prime minister takes over only next year.

So the hard choice is still ahead. In an eye-opening session, the Institute for Critical Studies on Public Policy has examined the critical priorities in the "new world disorder": on one hand, a renewed Canada's focus on military capabilities, with established groups, such as NATO in Bosnia, in "conditions of the moment," such as our 1999 peacekeeping mission in East Timor with the Australians, or a deeper relationship with the U.S. "Choosing whom in the world Canada is willing and able to undertake international operations, is a difficult political decision," says Macdonald. "Nobody ever heard of East Timor and suddenly we were there; today, the principal element of defence policy is terrorism."

So far, we are tilting toward the U.S. Delia University political scientist Don Ford Macdonald and Don Ford note that we are edging toward ever greater interdependence with U.S. forces—with almost no national debate. Our fighter jets, for instance, which had compatibility problems on previous Gulf missions, are being upgraded to match U.S. standards in 30 areas.

McCallum's task is to hold his fort as time when the paper between him and reality has never been greater. Or more dangerous.

Mary Javanak's column appears every other issue. [maryj@netcom.ca](mailto:maryj@netcom.ca)

**"Nobody ever heard of East Timor and suddenly we were there; today, the principal element of defence policy is surprise"**

# 'WE'RE SEEING SOME PAYBACK'

Canada's central banker talks about war, openness—and interest-rate hikes

**AS THE FIRST OUTSIDER** in 67 years to be appointed Bank of Canada governor, David Dodge has brought a new openness to that often unwelcoming institution. The former finance department minister—the architect of the GST—makes it a point to keep Canadians abreast of bank thinking. Still, on the record interviews with him are rare, because financial markets tend to parse every word. Last week, Dodge, 78, sat down with a group of Maclean's journalists for an hour-long session. Highlights:

**Canada is booming, producing more jobs than the U.S. Can that be sustained?**

Well, obviously we're not going to regenerate 500,000 jobs a year while the U.S. generates even fewer, so the differential is not sustainable, and not practical. Why have we been doing better over the last three years? Part of the answer is we did a lot worse through much of the 1990s, certainly from the '91 recession, which was far deeper in Canada, and then we recovered much more slowly than the Americans until about '96 or '97. Why did that happen? Well, first, we were adjusting to free trade. Second, we were adjusting to low and stable oil prices. And third, we were getting our public accounts into shape. All of those put pressure on Canada and forced a lot of adjustment, and that was painful and expensive.

When we're among now is a bit of a payback for having got our macroeconomic framework right. We're recapturing some of that ground we lost. And there's more to come. So the answer is that we can outperform the United States over a period of time, through the first half of this decade, just as we underperformed the United States through the middle of the 1990s.

**Every time you go on the road there's a reason. What's your message this time?**

We asked a very important question, is it sustainable that we continue to do well? My own view is it is sustainable as long as we stick to our knitting. There are four key factors

that we continue to open in terms of trade in the world. That is certainly really important. Second, that we continue to pursue a monetary policy that focuses on maintaining Canadian funds that seem to be pretty stable, around two per cent inflation a year in the long run. Third, that we continue to reduce the public debt to GDP ratio so the burden of the debt, as we get older, doesn't fall too heavily on those who will then be working. And finally, that we continue to make the structural reforms to fix up markets so that we continue to operate efficiently.

As we look out over the next 18 months, there's a lot of uncertainty. That uncertainty has been generated by financial market turbulence, although we would argue that there's been a relatively quiet improvement over the last four or five months. We're working our way through the accounting and corporate governance problems.

But we do have geopolitical uncertainty. Our best assumption is that it will begin to dissipate by the second half of the year. In the short run, we're not sure, but hopefully there could be a peaceful settlement. Failing that, a short war. The other thing we're seeing is the Canadian economy perhaps operating a little closer to capacity than we at the bank had thought and had told Canadians last fall. We're contemplating this as a double-edged sword. On the one hand, Canadians would be surprised by the bank taking action, should what we've seen in the last little while continue.

**In other words, you expect interest-rate hikes, probably.**

Yeah. As we've said, we have an extraordinary amount of monetary ease in the system right now. Following Sept. 11, we thought all the risks were in one direction, and so we used monetary policy very significantly. Last spring, we thought we saw things tightening up so we began to take a little bit of that ease out. Then in the summer, the financial headlines were blowing pretty strongly and so we

stepped. But as those pressures dissipate, people have to be prepared for the fact that in order to maintain our two per cent inflation target over the next 18 to 24 months, we're going to have to remove some of the cooling stimulus.

**What's driving your concern about inflation?**

We had a view, last summer, that it was mainly being driven by what you might call one-time price adjustments, electricity and auto insurance being two very big ones. What we've seen through the course of the fall is that price pressures are just a little bit more generalized than we had thought, and that the one-time increases seem to be a little bit more persistent.

**And with the Iraq situation, are you concerned about a pretty quick boost in gas prices?**

Oil and gas prices are volatile. As you know, we separate out eight of those volatile items from our core measure. And while obviously there's a real economic impact of a prolonged period of high oil and gas prices, in terms of domestic inflation that isn't our primary worry. We expect oil and gas prices to go up and down.

**What's the outlook for the dollar?**

As you know, we don't comment on short-run movements in the Canadian dollar. What a long-term outlook something that we talked about a year ago. We are beginning to see some softening of the U.S. dollar, which had been extraordinary strength. We've seen a little more modestly against the euro. And as that happens we would expect, over the medium run, that the Canadian dollar would appreciate a bit relative to the U.S. dollar.

**Do you see it as part of your mandate to help the dollar?**

No. We anchor our monetary policy to try to keep domestic prices relatively stable in our own currency, and then the exchange rate will move around to allow the adjustments to take place. That's the choice we've



made—we made it back in 1990—and inevitably, most countries in the world are coming to that view.

**There's a new counter to those who advocate currency union with the U.S. What are your views on that?**

If you're looking at integration of economies, you first start with the market for goods and services, and then capital, and then labour. Once you've got those integrated, then you can consider whether a single currency would make sense. We've got reasonable integration in the goods and services markets. We've got reasonable integration in capital markets. We're really somewhere in terms of labour markets, every little bit there's a lot more to do than that side of things before you would

consider a single currency. But even then it might not make sense, because the structure of our economy is so different from that of the United States.

**How do you gather your information?**

Obviously, we have access to all data sources. We spend a lot of time on telephone, and that varies a lot, from the analyst through to plant managers through to people running distribution centres. It's really important to try to understand what's actually going on on the ground. So we have been beefing up staff at our five regional offices. They now go out and talk to a rotating group of about 100 companies each quarter to try to get that richer information. If you will, that isn't exactly fully sort of information. We

also spend quite a bit of time analyzing what's going on in credit markets, so we're talking to credit managers at the banks, and to people in the market. And so just in Canada. We pay a lot of attention to what's going on in New York, a lot of attention to Chicago, to London. And we work with other organizations, such as the Conference Board, and we get that Can-100 special work for us, and so on. So it's a pretty pervasive multi-pronged gathering network.

**You've talked about more openness. What are the benefits to the bank?**

I think there are three major benefits. First of all, when we're open going out, then people tend to be more open with us, so the quality of the information that we get back is bet-

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University of Waterloo graduate **Katherine** is a rock star, but not in the way you might think. She's interested in how rocks are formed and how organisms come to be within different rocks. By looking at the physical and chemical evolution of sedimentary bodies, she hopes to unearth new information about their potential to hold and transmit water or petroleum — valuable information for the oil and gas exploration industry. Thanks to an NSERC scholarship, Katherine will learn digging for knowledge where she begins her Ph.D. at the University of Saskatchewan.

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For Number 2, Canadians shouldn't really ever be surprised by what we are doing. They may be surprised on any individual fixed income date, but they should have a pretty reasonable fix on what our thinking is. And finally, the big payoff comes when a real crisis arises because then Canadians will have built up some degree of trust that we're not trying to hoodwink them.

**Are you concerned about the rising debt load of Canadian households?**

A good chunk of this debt has been built up through mortgage debt, roughly 70 per cent. That hasn't changed very much. And our analysis would say that, unlike Britain or Australia, here house prices have really not gone up at an unreasonable rate. We're seeing quite a supply response to, by world standards, the rather moderate rise in the price of housing. So we think that market is relatively healthy. And at the moment, because longer term rates are quite low, there's quite a bit more financing at five per cent, so that is pleasing consumers as well.

The real issue, then, is consumer credit, and that clearly has been growing more rapidly. But may be due to the extraordinarily generous interest rates offered by auto companies in either lease or purchase arrangements. So we're not as concerned as some analysts would be by that rise in consumer debt, but over time that line can't continue. The recent sharp increases may be an indication that consumer credit has been put a little bit too easy.

**You encouraged Senator Michael Kirby to do his report on health care. As his GST's question here, what do you think of his proposal to increase the GST to provide extra revenue for health care?**

If you look at any way to raise revenues for health care, then using consumption is a very appropriate way to do it, because you don't discourage the government of health, on the one hand, and secondly, consumption does rise very much with income. The person buying \$300,000 worth of goods and services in a year obviously is contributing more than the person buying \$30,000. Finally and very importantly, consumption grows over time, so those revenues grow appropriately over time.

**But it couldn't be politically. It depends on the pilot!**

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Column | DONALD COOPER



## THE DOLLAR BEAR

Remember the tech mania? There was a greenback mania that went with it.

THE TERM "bear market" has been used about the stock market so much lately that the casual observer might believe that only stocks have boomed, and whenever they reappear, bubble. Not so. Markets in any major dollar asset class are labelled by which kind of movement among currently works in them.

In a bear market, speculators make money by selling the asset short, and then buying it back at a reduced price. This is the opposite of a bull market, in which speculation (and investors) make money by buying assets that go up in price.

What many people failed to notice during the technology mania that began three years ago was that the market of the 1990s was that the American dollar was also in a remarkable bull market. Foreign investors—Europeans, Asians, Canadians—could make serious profits in its own currencies by owning U.S. stocks and bonds once those assets didn't go up much in U.S. terms. A German who bought U.S. Treasury debt in mid-1995 and held it until January 2002 made roughly 40 per cent in Deutschmarks (and even the bond's face value, and also made annual profits averaging 10 to 15 per cent, per five per cent who the lowest interest rates, which meant the carried double-digit interest on the best-known, most liquid bonds in the world.

Her happiness did not offset the gloom in Brussels and Frankfurt at the entrance of the leading European countries continued to weaken against the dollar's weakness that turned into a year when the euro was born. For the Europeans who had laboured to get government from the member nations to accept that their own currencies in favour of the new euro, the dollar's strength was an ongoing irritant. The new currency, which was supposed to be the new sort of global value, was a global joke.

Meanwhile, the U.S. dollar, which was supposed to crumble under the weight of the bill buildup in U.S. national debt, was a bit in flight. The greenback was better than any other currency—and was most certainly bet-

ter than gold, which was in its own long-term bear market.

Then, on Jan. 31, 2002, the American dollar peaked, rolled over, and began to decline against most of the world's major currencies. In particular, it weakened against the euro. Most observers said all that was happening was the dollar was in a moderate correction. The euro, which had been at least US\$1.05, would settle in around par—US\$1.

Since year-end, those blind forecasts have been blown to smithereens as the euro has soared past US\$1.08, and the broad index of the dollar's value against a basket of leading global currencies has fallen from 104 to 99 (Asia peaked in mid-2001, that index was at 118, so the dollar is down 17 per cent against a wide-weighted collection that includes such currencies as the euro, the yen, the Swiss franc, the pound, and the Canadian dollar).

Naturally, gold has risen as the dollar has fallen. Gold was roughly US\$270 an ounce when the dollar index was at 109, and it has risen above US\$300 since then, or 40 per cent. Gold's percentage rise should be in the range of twice the rise of a diversified basket of currencies, because gold is the "pure" bet against the U.S. dollar, whereas other currencies have their own individual characteristics—good and bad.

Then the greenback scaled back peaks at a time when the U.S. was bleeding more than a billion dollars a day on the trade deficit was a sign that the U.S. currency had acquired, like technology markets, a special kind of oscar that seemed to make it immune to ordinary economic laws. All the

**Most observers said all that was happening was a moderate correction. Those forecasts have been blown to smithereens.**

handwriting in Brussels, Frankfurt, London and Ottawa about the weakness of their currencies against the dollar was from acute embarrassment: Why should the currencies of thirty countries, boasting high savings rates and running trade surpluses, plunge compared with the currency of the country with the largest trade deficits in history and the lowest savings rates in the modern world?

The biggest reason for the dollar's lighter was Nokia. People across the world fell for the hype from the Pied Pipers, shills and megalomaniacs, who proclaimed that U.S. technology companies had found the perpetual prosperity machine that would make Americans rich without the need to save. Foreigners sent their savings to the U.S. to buy these wondrous stocks, and to buy bonds denominated in the currency of the country that produced the magic. The dollar soared in its own form of mania.

Once Nokia crashed, it was only a matter of time before the dollar would break down, if not actually crash. By late year, according to Bridgewater Associates, the U.S. was tapping more than 70 per cent of all cross-border savings flows around the world to finance its current account deficit (trade and investment). The situation was clearly unsustainable.

Although world leaders held tight during the U.S. current account deficit, selling Washington to get as close as order, they remained wary about selling their country's products to U.S. consumers, the global buyers of fear and loss.

Now that the dollar is in a full blown bear market, those same leaders are worried. The soaring euro threatens to wash European exports—such as the strongest current account of the currency economy. The soaring yen is a disaster for Japan, where the rising export economy has the dynamics of a Greek anemone shrimp.

The technology sector was great for global economy activity in long as it lasted. The dollar excess was also great for global economy activity, taking it to the limit. Selling global stock markets and selling global economy members are selling, as both these parties are over. The dollar bear has passed the tech bear to spoil our fun.

Nothing needed like excess.

Donald Cooper is chair of the Board of International Management in Chicago and of Toronto-based Jones Investment Services. [donald@cooperinc.ca](mailto:donald@cooperinc.ca)



## ALL THE SAD HORSES

The way these beautiful animals are treated at the end of life is outrageous

IF THE MEASURE of a society is how well it treats its animals, I'd like to speak up on behalf of horses. Once they were man's best friend. Today, they can be found by the hundreds, old, crippled, badly treated and starving, at a country's vast northeast of Illinois. As a journalist 22 years ago, I attended this auction's predecessor at a nearby flea market to report on the human consumption of horse meat. Following the loading area after the colic-horn had gone home, I watched two many miserable beasts scrambling up the ramps onto trucks for the long ride to the "kill plant" on Owen Sound, Ont. Hurdling there were thousands more, some cold, others just master of fear with their whips and prods. At a couple of auctions I happened to see suddenly jumping into the path of a half-blind gelding or a young Arabian stallion docked and screaming at their tormentors instead. I just wrote my story, hoping that it would change something.

Sad to say, it didn't. Now, as then, in this region that puts far, well, I saw some of the poorest countries demonstrated by men. Some of these horses were bleeding from cuts on their faces and legs, the result of trailer accidents, no doubt. Others were obviously being killed, their heads falling and their therapy eyes half-closed against the fluorescent lighting and the noisy stream of passersby. A few, more unfortunately, were clear-eyed and knowing, like the little Arabian mare, one undocked, but in fact, according to the scale sign in front of her, sold for \$499. She might have been luckier than most. At least this time, she had escaped the last ride.

As I stood in the wire and watched these horses, I felt alone, very alone, not even from a little sign. Horses have been my life long passion. I sat on my first pony as a twelve-year-old and I have watched these cars and fine clothes in favour of horses in the nearly 50 years since. It's in the blood. My dad, and his dad before him, raised, rode and drove nearly every type of horse: elegant hunters, fiery standardbreds,

high-stepping hackneys, Clydesdale teams. My dad's vacation—horse trails—produced more than a dose of dabbled in my friends' purses. "People do this for a living!" one screamed. Perpet H.E. met me once de-manded. (Her son and I didn't last long.)

It was a personal life, almost as much scary, heart, home makes' last get pulled into old sadness with the family's belongings (and of like the Jews) and moved on to the next job. The saddest part for me was always saying goodbye to the obligatory farm ponies, usually bought for the grand kids by rich folk and ridden by me, the owner's kid. The Ponies and the Kings and the Wilkes of my acquaintance were much better friends than the Ladies and the Beckers and the Percys I never got a chance to know at school. In the '50s, I was glad to see the New Adeline of Agnes and Mary, and every prize-winning Western, from Bar Masterman to Sugarfoot, not to watch the actors but the actors' horses. (Will Hinds, the Sag actor star, rode a beautiful buckskin, considering a low offer like the type that I later discovered I shared with impressive sub-



jects Lorne Greene and Charlton Heston.) But the reality of actually owning horses is that the really good ones cost more than I will ever be able to afford. And here's where we get back to that auction.

Horse fortunes are nearly as volatile as the stock market. At the top of the heap, it's not unusual for competitors in the sport of show jumping or dressage to pay hundreds of thousands of dollars for potential champions, usually bred in Europe for added cachet. Thoroughbred race horses can be syndicated for millions. That said, most of the backyard horses bought and sold in my income bracket fetch maybe \$2,000, \$10,000 at most, and my wife and I like a horse who want to show a bit and has a bit and have some beautiful big thing to love and spoil.

Unfortunately, these seemingly Elysian unions often go wrong. Riders get hurt on too-green horses. The animals tend to have breeding trouble and lameness trouble and tooth trouble and a long list of behavioural issues like fear of traffic and dogs and bicycles and storms. They are often judged unsuitable and sold. It's pretty sad to say that anyone who has a decent horse—and a decent home in their body—will try to sell their animal privately and at least make an attempt to get it a good home. Or pay about \$200 to have it put down humanely. But when the animals are particularly lame or broken, winded or a dangerous runaway or too old to be ridden, it often goes to auction. There it ends up on the truck with countless other horses all stamping and pushing and trying to stay upright in the crowd. Sooner, a cowboy in jeans asked me: "Sissy, when they're so good to anyone, they don't want to live any more!"

Yeah, right. And this is the real point of the story. On the can and dogs, who are treated by their lifelong owners as they do on a vet's table and are then buried under the nose bushes, horses often live their lives from pleasure. Horse trading has always had a bad reputation because unwelcome characters pull the unimpaired, fair enough for the buyers, who ought to know better, but what about the dumb animals?

Many of the horses sold at this country auction brought their owners no more than \$400—and a handy way to avoid taking responsibility. How truly pathetic.

Barrara Riggton, a writer with *Forbes*, produced *MoneySense's* *MoneySenseWeekend*.

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 ROGERS

Baghdad Diary | BY ERIC HOGANS and SAMANTHA NUTT



## SUFFER THE CHILDREN

In Iraq, a Canadian-led team gauges the human cost of another Gulf war

**CANADIAN DOCTORS** Eric Hogans and Samantha Nutt have worked extensively in war zones. The married couple recently joined the 30-member International Study Team, funded by more than 20 Canadian non-governmental organizations, to comprehensively assess the humanitarian impact a new war may have on Iraqi children. For Hogans, who worked in Iraq immediately after the 1990 Gulf War, this was his 25th trip to that country. Nutt has been there three times. Their diary account of the visit

Nutt and her colleagues found shortages at the pediatric hospitals they visited

Security Council Resolution 666 states that flights to Baghdad are only allowed for humanitarian purposes. Tonight, our flight is oversold. A quick glimpse at the other passengers suggests that "humanitarian" is now broadly defined: journalists looking for adventure, guides, and workers in white bison-down; blue suits, silk ties and gold cuff links. Looks like 100 people on business.

**JANUARY 26:** Tonight we board the Royal Jordanian flight from Amman to Baghdad. Flights were impossible three years ago; a rarity two years ago. Now they leave almost daily from Damascus and Amman. UN

whether we'll be forced to take the roads.

ary AIDS test. We have a medical locker, but we don't need to use it—we are quickly approved. At the baggage area we are greeted by the minder appointed to "facilitate" our work. Cellphone and satellite phones are seized but beepers and cameras are allowed. Phones are returned in sealed bags on condition that when we return to the airport the bags are still intact.

We arrive at the Al Rashid hotel at 2 a.m. It is congested with journalists. Peter Jennings, sporting a perfect tan, becomes towed the elevators with five crew members. Tom Kennedy from CTV rushes by, exhausted. Peter Marchbridge walks on his way. Now all we need is Hockey Night in Canada and we're home.

**JANUARY 26:** Our team's two Norwegian

psychologists, Magne Raudach and Arie Deygou, are among the world's foremost experts on the psychological impact of war on children. We map out a comprehensive plan for the assessment, and make a wish list of meetings. While we wait, some of us visit the Saddam Pediatric Hospital. However, we arrive late in the afternoon and the hospital's administration has already gone home. We are instead invited to drink tea with the security guards. One guard asks, through hand gestures, if we can take a picture of his children and reasons for us to walk with him behind the hospital. We hesitate—it is dangerous for Iraqis to be seen with foreigners. But he reassures us.

His home is one of many 10-by-eight-foot portables in an impoverished community behind the hospital. We meet the family, including five children ages 4 to 16. There is one small window, a couch, a stained mattress and a photo of Saddam Hussein. Only some of the kids are wearing shoes—it is what it means to be middle class in Iraq. We take photos of the children; they view the results on the digital camera, with squeals of laughter. They receive yellow juice, made from orange powder. We drink, although we know the water may be contaminated.

Our host insists on paying for our cab back to the Al Rashid Hotel. We refuse, but the host, the cab driver will not accept our money—so our host slipped him 500 dinars (about 25 cents, close to a day's wage) while we were arguing with him. A matter of pride.

Later, we attend a meeting with the ministers of electricity to learn about the poor state of the water and sanitation system, both electricity-dependent. But Iraq's electricity infrastructure was destroyed during the Gulf War, and it is currently functioning at less than 60 per cent of its 1990 capacity. With so little clean water, according to UNICEF data, Iraqi children experience an average of 11 days of diarrhea a month. In the event of war, the minister says, "We have no plan. Faith in God Almighty, faith in our leadership, and whatever the leadership plans, we will go forth with it, until bloodshed."

**JANUARY 21:** At our morning team meeting, our psychologists are euphoric. They received approval to enter homes and carry out interviews without supervision. The next weeks at a Bureau pace, gathering data, at tending meetings and searching for documents. In the late afternoon, we attempt to return to Saddam Pediatric Hospital, which



With U.S. planes patrolling the no-fly zone overhead, an Iraqi family eats lunch in Karbala

our minder has arranged for us to visit unaccompanied. We climb into the nearest taxi and make our way. When we arrive, the director is waiting to greet us, but we have been brought to a different Saddam Hospital—a specialized care facility for children with cancer. We undertake the assessment, but cautiously claim access: increase in childhood cancer since the Gulf War has been brought to a different Saddam Hospital—a specialized care facility for children with cancer. We undertake the assessment, but cautiously claim access: increase in childhood cancer since the Gulf War has been brought to a different Saddam Hospital—a specialized care facility for children with cancer. We undertake the assessment, but cautiously claim access: increase in childhood cancer since the Gulf War has been brought to a different Saddam Hospital—a specialized care facility for children with cancer.

The hospital is overcrowded, and few patients are receiving proper treatment. The oncologist delays, the laboratory and blood bank in situ have led to a reduction in available medications. Regimens for treating patients are not adhered to, as drugs will arrive in the wrong order and in insufficient quantities.

**JANUARY 22:** Several Canadian journalists have learned that we have permission to visit Karbala tomorrow, an hour and a half south of Baghdad, and ask to accompany the team. For journalists, getting travel permission can be complicated. We discuss authorization for them with our minder. It is quickly approved.

By the hotel elevator, a blond woman in her early 20s approaches us: "Are you Canadian journalists?" she asks. "No," we reply. "Are you human shields?" We explain about our authorization. She is very nervous, introducing herself as Martha and explaining that the war in Afghanistan last year and

"there are a lot of innocent people there." She doesn't appear to be in Iraq for any specific purpose. We later learn that they are "war grantees" who follow journalists from one hot spot to the next, posing in hotels and taking in events.

Today we make it to the right Saddam Pediatric Hospital, and enjoy another round of tea with the security guards before undulating our assessments.

**JANUARY 23:** Karbala was at the heart of the Shiite uprising in 1991, which was quickly quashed by government forces shortly after the Gulf War ended. Our departures delayed from then on, our four-day difference of opinion between our minder and the porters' minder regarding a mission. When we finally arrive, we are once again taken to the wrong pediatric hospital. (Apparently, we don't have proper permission to travel to the intended facility, one that we visited in 1994 and 2001.) As we stand next to the ones, negotiating with the district official, egotism can be heard in the distance. This is the southern holy zone, and British and American planes have increased their bombing in recent weeks.

We agree to do an assessment, pending approval of our visit to the other pediatric hospital. In one room, 18-month-old Mustafa is dying of kala-azar, a parasitic infection, caused by sand flies, that attacks vital organs. The disease can be cured by a 525 course of pentamidine, but there is no



Children are dying of kala-azar, gastroenteritis, pneumonia and other treatable infections

enough medication to treat him. His mother, an emaciated 275-lb woman in 1990 while bombs fell around them. Now, he says, it may begin all over again. His face is flushed while whispering: "We have more than 234,000 troops in the neighbouring countries! What could they possibly be planning to need that many? I don't know what we will do."

**JANUARY 25:** The psychological impact of waiting for war may be inconceivable to us outsiders. "We have worked a war zone in Africa, Asia, Latin America and the Middle East, but nothing has prepared us for the reality of being in Iraq right now, knowing with relative certainty that, within weeks, many of the Iraqis we are meeting, and Iraqi children whose stories form the basis of the team's report, will likely experience, and perhaps die, from war."

As physicians, and "experts" on the impact of war on children, we are the ones normally sent to enter a conflict but either captured or run to safety. It is one thing to find a weapons cache, like an ammunition magazine "Scatter in the woods!" Too little, too late. It is another thing to stand on the precipice to another tragedy yet to unfold. This does not encourage denial of the responsibility of Saddam Hussein in this humanitarian crisis, it is merely an observation of the heart-wrenching reality that can form anyone war waiting or living in Iraq.

The team's psychologists have learned, through their survey of more than 360 chil-

ren, that the public display of Iraqi resistance (flag burning, war-mongering and such) mask intense fear and sadness. "They have guns and bombs and the air will be hot and we will burn very much," said five-year-old Asem. "I think every hour that something bad will happen to me," Hadeel, 13, told the psychologists. "They will come from above, from the air, and will kill us and destroy us. We fear this very much," said Sherm, 5.

**JANUARY 26:** We held a news conference to present our preliminary findings. Despite our concerns that the media is doing a poor job of examining the potential humanitarian fallout of a possible war, we have about standing room only. Now it is time to return home, to submit our findings to the UN Security Council, non-governmental organizations and Ottawa.

On the way to the airport, the team is quiet, deeply conflicted about leaving the luxury of learning while the Iraqis who are company on earth. But even also-bred-dork hamster Mike, our Lebanese logistics officer who lived through the bloodshed in his home country, has a one in a million awareness of what is about to happen. He called Abu Abed and his wife, Um Abed. One, Mike says, revolves around an explosion in Abu Abed's apartment building. The other, Mike says, is that Abu Abed, who has been there, also officials if the car crash for his husband among those who have been lost.

"You will not be able to identify him—this friend is not identifiable," the official says. "That's fine," Um Abed explains. "I can identify Abu Abed from below." Mike describes how she passes the deceased man one by one, suspecting their husband. One after the other, Um Abed says. "This is not Abu Abed, this is not Abu Abed." Then she steps in front of one and concludes, "This man is not even from our building!" We all break out in laughter. For a brief moment, we forget where we are. But it doesn't last.

At the airport, we are told the flight is, once again, overbooked. We manage to find a seat and the plane departs.

**JANUARY 27:** While we wait during a stopover at Heathrow Airport, we search for news papers and catch an Associated Press head line: "Report predicts massive civilian child death toll in Iraq. Casualties led, said for study."

Write the International Weekly Trade & report at www.msnbc.com





## A PROPHET STEPS DOWN

Moses Znaimer, writes PEARL SHEFFY GEFEN, sees educational TV as the next frontier

MOSES ZNAIMER has dozens of TV credits. Toronto-based, but on this particular January afternoon, not a single one is named on. The groundbreaking broadcaster is known to prefer the glow of television screens to conventional light. But on Jan. 1, Znaimer began a three-month sabbatical as president/consultant producer of ChurnCity. He won't say whether he plans to return to the position. "After 31 years of non-personal excitement, I've decided I need a break," he says. "You run like hell, travel like mad, operate in multiple time zones simultaneously, and only every once in a while do you actually sleep and think. I've been this very

intensive, intuitive and high-energy vlogger, and so reviewing and evaluating all that is suddenly appealing."

He has a lot to review. There's a striking sight on the east wall of the ChurnCity building on Queen Street—a real Citytv news crew SUV appears to be crashing through the wall high above the parking lot. It's a tribute to Znaimer's nonstop energy (and through it, television). Since he co-founded Citytv in 1977, he's helped introduce a hip, creative, direct, informal, low-drama, high-energy and local style of television. Znaimer's TV focuses street-level studios, community engagement, and ethnic diversity among

"There are more TV sets in the world than indoor toilets. TV remains the dominant force."

on-camera personnel. The news division relies largely on "videographers," a concept Znaimer pioneered over 20 years ago, in which reporters are their own writers, cameramen, editors and producers.

Since CHUM Ltd. became owner of City in 1978, Znaimer has helped expand the parent company's holdings to eight local stations, including two Citytv's (in Toronto and Vancouver), and 17 specialty channels like MuchMusic, Bravo and Space. Applications for new channels in Edmonton and Calgary are pending. Meanwhile, CHUM programs are seen in well over 150 countries.

Znaimer, who won't divulge his age but is around 60, isn't likely to renege into the shadows of solitary contemplation. Though he says he's thinking about the future in the early stages, he's leaning toward an emphasis on education television. His most recent trip, last month, was to Victoria, at the dawn of CHUM's growing cluster of education channels, for meetings to inform British Columbia what he and his colleagues have done for Alberta, promoting and improving its educational television.

"It took over Access, which is the designated educational broadcast authority for Alberta, and returned it to the education mandate from which it had eroded," he recalls, "with the twist that we're the guys who make Citytv and MuchMusic and know how to speak to the new generation so when those channels are so critical, in their own highly visual language. How do you keep any culture alive and fresh if you don't engage the next generation?"

Znaimer's recent five-city conference IdeaCity brings together an eclectic mix of some of Canada's greatest minds and talents. This year's participants include poet laureate George Bowering, explorer Wade Davis and R.C. Marquardt, Party President Marc Enery. IdeaCity is a project of the same cluster of CHUM educational companies, soon to be renamed the Access Media Group, of which Znaimer is chairman and executive producer. And this time, he also has minority ownership. (Contrary to popular myth, he is not a major owner of City; in fact, he holds just three per cent of CHUM Ltd. stock. CHUM is controlled by Allen Waters and his family.) "In the case of these educational channels, I have a decent position. That's

part of my motivation too. I believe in the field immensely, and it's time to think a little more about my own situation."

Znaimer and educational television seem a match made in heaven. The broadcaster did not raise things, a TV-loving intellectual. He was born in Yugoslavia while his Eastern European Jewish parents were fleeing the Nazis near the end of the war. The family immigrated to Montreal when Moses was six (settling on Mordecai Richler's famed St. Urbain Street), and he went on to study philosophy and politics at McGill University, and then pursued graduate studies in government at Harvard. His love of television, meanwhile, began during adolescence—Moses bought the family's first set with his bar mitzvah money. "The enormous impact and realization of having personal information and entertainment presented on tap," he recalls, "not only in my living room but my bedroom [which in those days were the same], was stunning. I hung onto that realization."

Once he ended his studies, Znaimer moved to Toronto and joined the CBC, where he had

**IdeaCity. Znaimer's annual conference, offers an eclectic mix of some of Canada's greatest minds and talents**

what he calls "a pretty fast, somewhat unconventional career" as producer, director and presenter. Soon after, he helped to launch Citytv—and revolutionize the medium. His goals for that enterprise were Phyllis and Iain ("Snark") Switzer, whose son is now president and CEO of CHUM Ltd. Znaimer also cites CHUM owner the "Waters as being hugely supportive of him.

At the same time, he drops his reputation as a misanthrope. "At a recent CKIC hearing, a R.C. professor said in his enthusiasm that City had virtually 'invented' multiculturalism and diversity in Canadian television. He mentioned my name, and that was a wonderful moment for me. My life both as an immigrant and as a Jew who has experienced the aftermath of ethnic intolerance was expressed in

that mission, and it was, in fact, perfect for him then, even ahead of its time."

Would Znaimer say that television has been superseded by the Internet as the greatest equalizer around the world? "No, I wouldn't," he says emphatically, like a father protecting his baby. "I think it's important to note that TV is still the only 100-per cent processed medium. There are more TV sets in the world than indoor toilets. Only a fraction of the world's population owns a computer. TV remains the dominant force because of its ubiquity and its absolute convenience and ease of operation. Their roles are different: you go to the computer to do something; you go to the TV to experience."

Beyond the camera, Moses Znaimer has had a world of experience. Now, he wants to name it on his own. "I'm taking the pause to think. It's unusual for me, and a little daunting. I'm going to do a little personal work, too, that's long overdue."

But will Moses Znaimer disappear from the small screen? That seems highly unlikely. Stay tuned.



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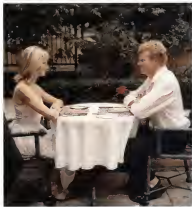
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**Film |** *Daddy's little girl* now director's leading lady

But time was on Senoia's side. The film, *Punch*, about an unlikely father-son and brother-in-law-on-a-crazy-infanticide-rehabilitation ship, took years to make. All the while, Senoia was taking theatre gigs in Vancouver. "By the time we were ready to cast," says Culp, "it was a fun of their work." Senoia, now 23, is electrifying in *Punch* as the violent and manipulative, yet ultimately sympathetic, daughter.

Her performance drew the attention of executives at Fox Broadcasting Co., who are currently conducting a search for NFL talent.

With Pouch appearing in Canada's first two, Gray, 43, and Sampa are tackling questions about their relationship. Gray says that until Sampa was 18, she was the only woman in his life and they were so attached! But he considers the film a worst-case scenario—what could have happened had he not recognized he was "using her as an antidote for his loneliness." Sampa insists Pouch is very much her dad's *view* and she would have proposed something completely different. But unless you hear a crackle in Hollywood, the director's really rural. **SHANICA DODD**

## Diversities | Sonia Smits

**MOVIES** **CHICAGO** "Catherine Zeta-Jones looks like she's having a blast. And Bruce Zellerweger is perfect as the drunk Soviet."



## TV | Master of his domain



try wouldn't be as surprising if we instantly realized that "you" they could just press the enter button in your brain and pig out on bacchodins, bacchodolins, bacchodols and all the other small-screen-punk that would immediately turn you into a complete lunatic. But, every so often, the median takes up gourmet fare, making the 200-channel zone gaslined sense not such a rip-off after all. Unfortunately, viewers have to wait forever for the good stuff, as in the case of *Real Science*, which (between stations two and three) can attract. Support content is particularly rare, but it keeps cropping up just when you've lost all hope. There was *SCVTV* last '76 and '78, and the new *SciFlix*, *The Larry Sanders Show* and *Ally McBeal* in the '90s. The past while has been particularly bleak, but now comes *Earth's Young Enthusiast*. The Movie Network has been curating the brilliant HBO series since 2002, and on Feb. 17 at 11 p.m. it'll air *Stargate*. *Stargate*.

criticisms, which kept him on Golden Globe's best comedy list in consecutive years. Not surprisingly, given that its creator, writer and star Larry David, was no stranger to the television producer of the hit show. In the new offbeat pilot, *It's a Larry Thing*, a writer banking on Sembo's success and he reinforced the assumption that he was himself the basis for George Costanza (though he has attributes of all the characters). The fictional Larry is obviously a good guy, but he's not above trying to avoid some minor task or to save face. And like the rest of us. In fact, with its progressed dialogue and real-seeming people, there is a strong sense of Larry as Brooklyn, and much of the comedy's strength lies in his ability to both spoil and endear himself to viewers.

Among the recurring guests is the inimitable Richard Lewis—a sort of *Everybody Loves*—as Larry's best friend. Such is his character's neuroticism that he tells a nearly blind person about his problems with love and intimacy. Overall, the humor is more dryly satirical than laugh-out-loud. There are few pre-liners, and often the hilarity doesn't strike you till later. But that's no reason to end your enthusiasm.

PATRICIA HELGREN

## TV | Unbreakable bonds

## THE BOYS OF BUCHENWALD

(Military Channel, Feb. 6, 1993)

the beginning of the Second World War, eleven years before the 1951 Jewish Aliyah in Europe. David Toller turned down the concentration camps, including 1,000 children liberated at Buchenwald by the U.S. army on Apr. 11, 1945. With his many orphans in Roubaix, François Desvres de Sacy and his friends took hundreds of Reichswald's boys and placed them in a children's home in France. That powerful film shows how the orphan were taken to one another and helped form relationships that have survived to this day. And it documents the "boys' emotional return to France in 2000. 70 pages after they "disappeared to strange places around the world." "I was the oldest of my group, of our exiles," says Robert Weinman, who after his parents moved to a foster home in Calgary at age 17, "discovered they did not take boys who had survived but



France decided the *The Stars of Bethlehem*

## UNDOING LOVE

CETV Feb. 7, 9 a.m.

John Newlands says either way her husband died but he insisted, David, that he lived because to say the same—no one thought they died: he in a Hall work camp in Poland in 1940. He perfects to call his last dwelling: It is a house that runs throughout this one-hour special, listing stories of young Jewish couples who either met during the war or who had their new relationships interrupted by a war to find and marry their partners after liberation. (Three of the couples profiled eventually moved to Canada.) In the ensuing interviews, which are accompanied by black and white film footage of still photos, they speak out of the heart of their Jewish emigration out of the lives they knew was becoming or waiting. They learned that (Israel) in their minds, they perceived it as writing their story, these men and women don't shut a door that audience should be prepared to.

REVIEWS BY AMY CAMERON AND SHARON DEWEY



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## PICTURE

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## People | Tenor of Troy

Ben Heppage—the 47-year-old dramatic tenor who's performed in the world's premier opera houses—doesn't sing in the shower. It's too loud in there, he says. (The Murrayville, B.C., barista does, however, from jazz standards when clearing out the perage of his Toronto home—a choice he finally got around to last year while taking time off after high blood pressure medication maddled with his voice.)

Heppage auditioned for his midway through a recital at Toronto's Roy Thomson Hall last January because his voice was breaking. But now the tenor is ready to tackle one of the most demanding operatic roles—Aeneas in Elton

Berlioz's epic, *Les Troyens*, opening at New York City's Metropolitan Opera on Feb. 10. This is not, Heppage admits, a part one takes on lightly. "It is an amazingly heroic role both in terms of its size and scope," he says. "And it's a great vocal challenge. Very few tenors tackle it even twice in their lifetime. If you do, it gives you pause as to what you are undertaking."

In the opera, Aeneas, leader of the Trojan army, leaves his devastated city in order to go and build Rome—making a stop in Carthage long enough to fall in love with its queen, Didon. "Within these epic people," says Heppage, "we need to somehow embody the humanity. If we put anybody else in the tenor, we stress the journey."

The post-year-nineteen journey for his Aeneas

After time off to heal his voice and hang out with his family, Heppage's back at the Met

was a wonderful break for Heppage. He was happy, he says, to simply hang out with his wife, daughter, and two sons. "Just being able to spend my own household and hobby-garden was enormously satisfying." And now that Heppage's voice is strong once more (he's also lost more than 50 lb.), 2009 is proving to be a busy year, with solo concerts scheduled across Canada, Tucson and Miami in Berlin and at the Met, a BBC production of *Les Troyens* at the Royal Albert Hall in London and Wagner's *Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg* in Paris. A schedule fit for an aged hero.

AMY CAMERON

## Books | A lightweight work of scintillating wit

Like spot works of art, books—maybe good books especially—need to have the air let out of them once only. New York playwright J. B. Miller does the job admirably with *The Sinner's Son* (Milk & Honey/Litwin/Pantheon). Highlights of Miller's not-perfect collection include the title piece, a Salome-bustle-esque account of some truly despicable North Carolina women. "They make fun of your front designer, they make you put into a toilet paper cup!" There's also "Cathia," supposedly by Vladimir Nabokov, detailing the narrator's obsession with an elderly woman, and "Lord of the Sins," a take-off on J.B.S. Teller's masterpiece. But for comic belittling, the piece in Miller's crown is "Angela's Eye for the Needle," his version of Angela's Ashes. Frank McCourt's power than a literary Python handles millionaire's childhood memoirs of growing up in the tenements of New York's slums. "Michael has dragged home another dead dog and we told it to go with some worms and lent chopsticks. It's like Christmas, it is."



## BESTSELLERS

### Fiction

	PREVIOUS WEEK
1. <i>CARRACROSSING</i> (John Grisham) (D)	1
2. <i>THE ADVENT</i> (M.L. Ryan) (D)	2
3. <i>SHADOWS</i> (C. Scott Smith) (D)	3
4. <i>THE CRIMINAL MIND</i> (M. L. Ryan) (D)	4
5. <i>THE POLICE</i> (M.L. Ryan) (D)	5
6. <i>THE CRIMINAL MIND</i> (M. L. Ryan) (D)	6
7. <i>THE CRIMINAL MIND</i> (M. L. Ryan) (D)	7
8. <i>THE CRIMINAL MIND</i> (M. L. Ryan) (D)	8
9. <i>THE CRIMINAL MIND</i> (M. L. Ryan) (D)	9
10. <i>THE CRIMINAL MIND</i> (M. L. Ryan) (D)	10

### Non-fiction

1. <i>THE CRIMINAL MIND</i> (M. L. Ryan) (D)	1
2. <i>THE CRIMINAL MIND</i> (M. L. Ryan) (D)	2
3. <i>THE CRIMINAL MIND</i> (M. L. Ryan) (D)	3
4. <i>THE CRIMINAL MIND</i> (M. L. Ryan) (D)	4
5. <i>THE CRIMINAL MIND</i> (M. L. Ryan) (D)	5
6. <i>THE CRIMINAL MIND</i> (M. L. Ryan) (D)	6
7. <i>THE CRIMINAL MIND</i> (M. L. Ryan) (D)	7
8. <i>THE CRIMINAL MIND</i> (M. L. Ryan) (D)	8
9. <i>THE CRIMINAL MIND</i> (M. L. Ryan) (D)	9
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1. *THE CRIMINAL MIND* (M. L. Ryan) (D)

Compiled by David Miller

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## MY FATHERHOOD DREAMS

We want a child more than anything. So my wife and I try, and hope, and wait.

I ALWAYS FIGURED I'd be a father by the time I was 30. I know I'd be a good one, too. Growing up, I always preferred to hang out with the kids—regardless if it was my younger cousin or a squad of neighborhood children. I call this attitude [OK, probably because I'm still a bit of a kid myself] *the I'm new years past that 30-year mark now and act a dad—though certainly not by choice. I mean, not my wife timing and I too victims of some cruel trick of nature, because despite waiting, nothing greater out of life than children to take, there's been no drug, technique or sage advice that has brought us any closer to our goal.*

Well, so far, at least. We still hold every month, but we get more anxious with every month that ticks by. I've discovered that being unable to conceive a child is the most depressing thing a couple can face.

We started trying soon after we were married in 1999. A year later, after everything to honor doctors, trying new techniques and (at least pretending) to "just let things happen," we spoke to our family doctor, who referred us to a male doctor who referred us to another doctor. In some ways, it would be easier if they found something that medically disqualified us from having kids. Then, we could just get on with adoption rather than go through more frustration. If not now, we're part of that 38 percent of couples whose infertility is unexplained.

We started with a prescription for a drug called Clomiphene. It tricks the brain into thinking the ovaries are starting off. After a year, we moved to Gonit-8, which I would argue into the cause around fertility interests. (That was her, a spot of blood popped up once and I nearly passed out.) Gonit-8 is supposed to stimulate egg production and carried a 25 per cent chance of multiple pregnancies. We joked that if we would publish a request for carriers for our 16 children.

But no luck. It's always the same: the investigation builds up during the final two weeks of the cycle, and we're carefully pre-arranged—if it doesn't work again, we wait

how too far to fall. Like most couples, we handle disappointment differently. My wife nondescriptly, amiable and talk. I withdraw, some of those of blinding fury, and wonder how to fix it.

Once, after an other negative test, we read a newspaper about a father dying of cancer who tries to reconnect with his son by building a house together. Hey, good choice, already emotionally suggest, we watched the film with even of tears streaming down our faces and ended up doubled over on our grass leather couch laughing at the absurdity of it all. One thing about experiencing disappointment is it goes a little easier each time to handle. We've learned that the trick is to stick together, and if laughing at each other bubbling over a movie helps, then so be it. That's what we'll do.

But even with no troubles, I never question our resolve to have kids, mostly because of our niece, Madeline. When my little brother walks down at the hospital room with her, he wears a smile radiating with wonder. She's almost three, now, beautiful and very smart. Every once in a while, she'll

spend the day with us and run clockwise through the house while we play "mouse me": kitchen, dining room, living room... 800? Kitchen, dining room, living room... 800? She has this way of all of a sudden saying or doing something that fills me with this alien flash of happiness that I'm sure fathers experience all the time. Just little things like, one afternoon, we were eating Jello and I was doing something to make her laugh. In the midst of an infectious giggle she squeaked, "Uncle's Minkie." That's all it takes. Another time, while I was absorbed in World Series games, she suddenly appeared in my chair and handed me a huge birthday card marked with bright crayons. My control was exemplary: I fought off a flood of heat to my face and gave her a big hug.

I used to keep a diary in my teenage years, when keeping a diary seemed like such a necessary part of understanding life and understanding who you are. Sometimes, I'd catch myself writing to my as yet unborn child and imagine that one day this unborn, yet somehow tangible figure would be moving back at the house and come across the pages I had written. I'd picture him either reading about dad and taking lessons from his experiences. I think about the lessons my father taught me—hold the door for people behind you, respect your mother, don't say and pull the curve ball, take it to right field—and want to pass them on.

My worst fear was finding myself old and gray one day with no memory of holding any child for the first time, of watching game-winning home runs, meeting first boyfriends, crying at weddings. Will I consider my life unfulfilled, maybe even worse? What fond memories will I have to look back on? My dedicated years of work, the oak extension desk I built, the time I barbequed that steak perfectly? Just not the same thing.

I found my wife good night about an hour and a half after celebrating the arrival of the New Year. We talked about our hopes for 2003. She admitted she almost started crying at about five minutes to midnight, when the thought struck her that, a year from now, nothing may have changed. We hugged each other and promised—once again—that we'd try and think about it as a positive way. I turned out the light and lay beside her, and thought, for the fifteenth time, how much I want to be a dad.

Michael Shiber is a *Maclean's* Reader's Register.



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